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New crisis in the South —Tallahassee focuses Negro-white impasse

By Louis E. Burnham

SINCE THE Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decisions, Negro migration from the South has continued but the 11,000,000 remaining have contended for equality with new confidence and vigor. On the other hand, segregationists reacted to the Court rulings with an all-out campaign to block their application.

The result is a critical impasse in Negro-white relations in the South.

The new crisis is underscored by two recent events: (1) the verdict of a Florida jury in the case of four whites who raped a Negro coed, and (2) the release of a report on violence, coercion and intimidation over a four-year period.

On June 14 an all-white male jury at Tallahassee returned a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of mercy in the case of William Collinsworth, Patrick Scarborough, David Beagles and Ollie Stoutamire.

DEATH FOR NEGROES: Six weeks earlier they had abducted a Negro college freshman and, at the point of a shotgun and an eight-inch switchblade knife, raped her seven times. Florida law pro-

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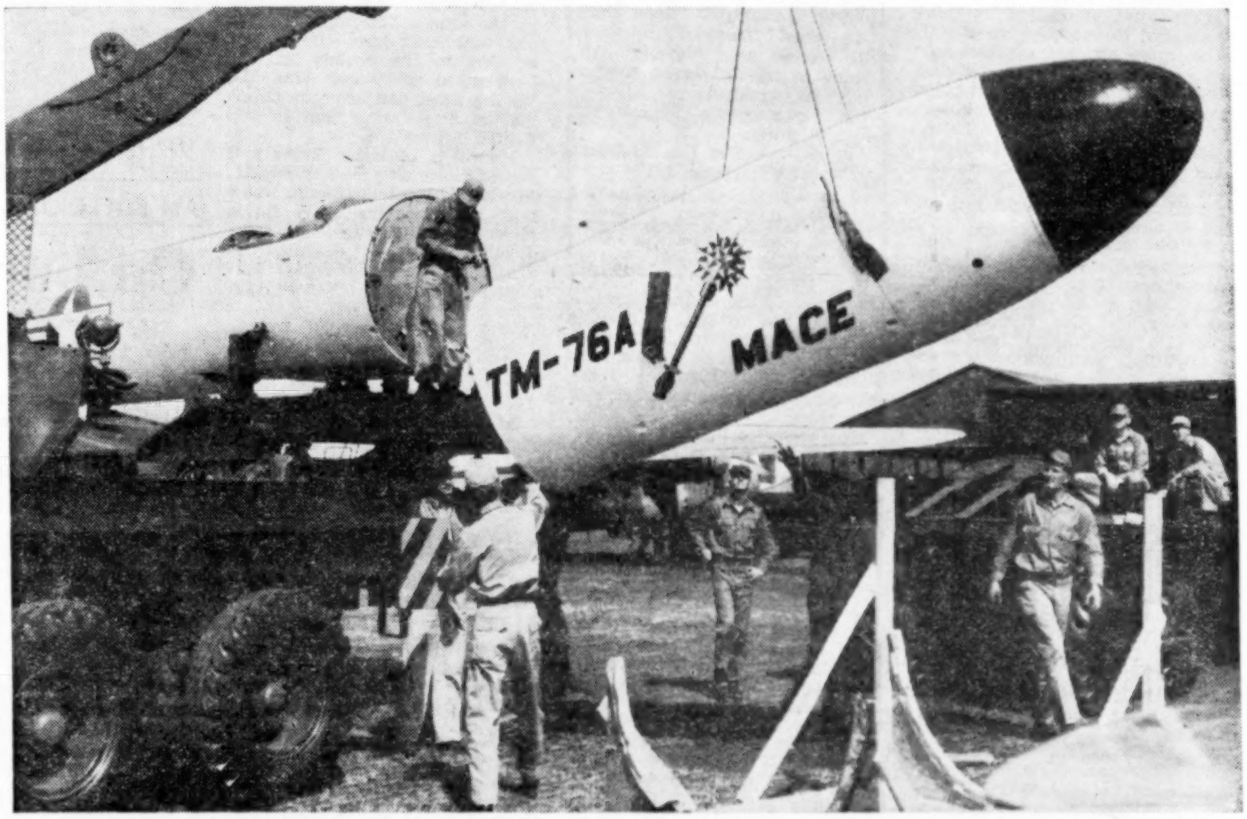
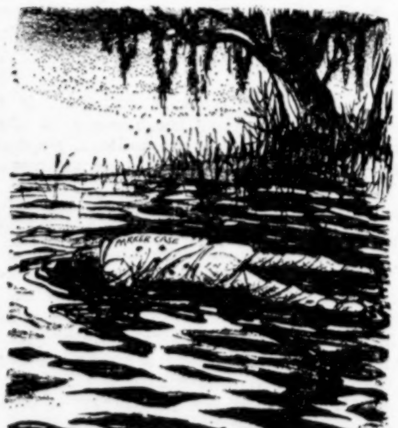
Announcement to readers

THE GUARDIAN next week will appear in its usual eight-page summertime edition. The 12-page edition will be back early in September. We have several summer specials in the works which will be announced in the next weeks. Watch for them. Have a good summer.



A SUMMIT MEETING MIGHT FIND MORE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR THESE HEALTHY AMERICANS

Technicians of the U.S. Tactical Air Command mount sections of a Martin Mace missile at Le Bourget Field, outside Paris. The Mace will be on view at the International Aeronautical Exhibition there even as Washington and Paris squabble over who will control the nuclear weapons in France which are earmarked to blow us all to hell. For a note of sanity, see editorial below.



Herblock, Washington Post

Jackson, Miss., May 25 . . . Gov. J. P. Coleman said he will make the FBI information available to the next regular session of the grand jury in November . . .

THE WAR ON THE UNIONS IN THE SOUTH

Henderson, N. C.—the clock is turned back

By Robert E. Light

AMONG LABOR MEN the union at the Harriet-Henderson cotton mills in Henderson, N.C., used to be known as an "isolated Gibraltar" in a sea of open shops. But after a still unsettled seven-month strike "Gibraltar" is sinking and with it ebb the hopes of labor in the South.

Since the war about 80% of the textile industry has moved south from organized northern plants. In the South only one of every six textile workers is in the union.

The AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of America organized the mills in Henderson in 1943 and has hung on to them ever since, although neither it nor other unions gained a foothold elsewhere in the area. To the union the current dispute is "a conspiracy to destroy unions in the South." Conspirators include the textile manufacturers, local courts and state officials.

TIRED PICKETS: Henderson is a quiet, small mill town about 20 miles below the Virginia line with a population of 15,000. Normally it would be hard to distinguish it from dozens of others in the area.

But these days, just before the whistle sounds starting the work-day at the mills, trucks pull up at the factory gates and discharge platoons of National Guardsmen. With bayoneted rifles at port arms, they line up along the gates and down the road. Through the gantlet called "scab alley" comes a cavalcade of cars carrying non-strikers. Across the road stand eight pickets (they are limited to that number and restricted to that position by local court order) who jeer at the cars' occupants. But the strikers' venom has been replaced by tiredness and, in some cases, despair.

The strike began on Nov. 17, 1958, when the contract expired. The union asked for no wage increase or other added benefit; it just wanted the contract renewed. But John D. Cooper Jr., president of the mills, insisted on eliminating a provision for arbitration of griev-

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON GENEVA AND THE SUMMIT

Needed: A principled American foreign policy

THE GENEVA FOREIGN MINISTERS' conference, deadlocked on the issue of West Berlin, recessed on June 19 for three weeks. As the ministers returned home, an anxious world hoped that talks with their respective governments would help resolve the impasse.

More than any others, the American people must undertake the job of guiding their representatives back to Geneva—and thence to the summit. For it was U.S. insistence on guaranteed permanent Western occupation rights in West Berlin—which the Soviet Union refused to concede—that precipitated the deadlock at Geneva.

Americans generally seem to have remained apathetic to the foreign ministers' conference and the need for a summit meeting. In Britain, the N.Y. **Times** reported (June 21), the recess "has not diminished the overwhelming desire for a summit meeting." In a recent public opinion poll, 68% of the British people favored a top-level meeting even if Geneva failed.

French public opinion was reflected in an editorial in **Le Monde** (June 20) which called the most recent Soviet proposals for West Berlin "a step forward" and said: "It is not vain to think that the pause for reflection that the foreign ministers have just given themselves will permit them to resume [their conversations] in a betetr state of mind."

WHILE THE **TIMES** said (June 21) that the foreign ministers' "record of accomplishment was zero," the Soviet press the same day said Geneva has laid a "good basis for agreement," making "further conversations essential."

Just before the recess, Soviet Premier Khrushchev in a significant public speech re-examined Moscow's proposals, indicated where the East-West gap had narrowed and em-

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THE MAIL BAG

Take the Tenth

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Can witnesses called by Congressional Committees answer to each question, no matter how innocent in itself, "I'll be glad to answer that if the court rules I must, but since the Barenblatt ruling, how can I know whether I must until the court decides?" If they insist that they are not refusing to answer, the burden of going to court would fall on the Congressmen.

Furthermore, everyone seems to have forgotten that the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution says Congress has no authority except what the Constitution gives it. The nation has been hoodwinked into believing that Congress has the right to do anything the Constitution does not specifically prohibit.

Leslie Foxworthy

Old China hand

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

W.E.B. DuBois' article about China is particularly interesting and inspiring to me because I was there a good part of the time from 1923 to 1925. I joined the Navy at 17 and was sent to China six months later. I knew Chefoo, Shanghai, and Hong Kong intimately; and I can testify that if those people can change, anyone in the world can change, and that the description of the change as merely miraculous must be a gross understatement.

I remember Shanghai as a place so choked with people it was often difficult to make any progress walking, and sometimes starving kids would assail you and hang on to you so that if you didn't give them a few clackers (pennies) you would have to have a heart of stone.

Ignorant though I was, I fell in love with the Chinese people, and have always thought fondly of them since. **Al Amery**

Life & death

WARROAD, MINN.

The obituaries said that John Foster Dulles' death caused great sorrow throughout the world. Having been an active agent in the arming of Hitler's Germany, the same may be said of his life and deeds.

Nels Gundbrandson

Bilking to rhythm

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

"Stores Accused of Price Fixing."

This news comes from San Diego. An investigator of the Dept. of Justice says the conspiracy has been going on among the big food stores for 10 years. He went on to say: "There is no way of estimating how much the home owners . . . have been bilked by this conspiracy. I assure you, however, the figure is staggering."

The very least these food giants can show us is courtesy by granting us the privilege of being bilked in an atmosphere of stillness, instead of musical torture. **Mrs. James Boyle**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SACRAMENTO (AP)—The Senate Investigating Committee on Education . . . today . . . criticized the State Dept. of Education for adopting a new series of music textbooks last year. The new series was termed "inferior in patriotic content" and inadequate in portraying the American heritage.

The Committee noted that the word "freedom" appears 31 times and "liberty" 15 times in the old series. In the new series, Music for Living, the same words appear 11 and 7 times.

—The Los Angeles **Times** 6/17

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, L.A.

Sunday closings

MANITOWOC, WISC.

This letter is in regard to Sunday closing bills. I am in the farm implement business and I have always, whenever possible, been open on the Sabbath. The farmer, if he is at all interested in saving his crop, is compelled to operate on the Sabbath at times.

The Lord should have made it unnecessary to milk the cows, make meals, need the services of a doctor etc. on Sundays. He should prevent rain, too, on the Sabbath.

If a person's car broke down on his way to church, would it be left to stand on the road till the next day; or has the Lord provided for this by seeing to it that no car going to church ever develops any trouble? I have seen quite a few preachers in my day sweating it out making money on the Sabbath.

Ernest Swensen

Pan-Germanism

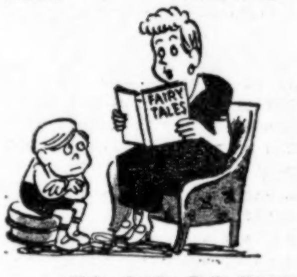
CLEVELAND, O.

Walter Reuther's May Day speech in Berlin should disperse some illusions held in left and liberal circles. He said: "We shall stand with you in Berlin no matter how strong and cold the Soviet winds blow from the East. I hope that our voices from this great rally of free men might carry through and beyond the Brandenburg gate, penetrating the Iron Curtain, not only to East Berliners but likewise to the heroes of Poznan and Budapest and, yes, to the latest victims of Communist aggression in remote Tibet."

Not a word about the Big Four meetings! Could anything have been more pleasing to the Hot and Cold War boys? In March, 1947, Reuther joined Herbert Hoover and other Americans in a cablegram to Secy. of State Byrnes demanding the return of the eastern lands (now part of Poland) to Germany.

When Paul Hagen appeared in the Detroit area in 1945, Victor Reuther, on Walter's staff then as now, wrote to all UAW locals in the area asking them to turn out and hear him. Hagen, according to the Society for the Prevention of World War III, "is the most dangerous protagonist of Pan-Germanism in the United States."

Between Solidarity House and Berlin there is a steady traffic. It would be interesting to know how much of the UAW funds have gone into direct and indirect campaigns designed to again save Germany from "Bolshevism." **James Agin**



Vicky, London Daily Express

"Once upon a time there was a film star who got married quietly . . ."

Youth March

CLEVELAND, O.

I was a part of the National Youth March from Cleveland. The Cleveland press took pictures of us, both before and after, but so far has not published them. I would like to thank you for covering the story as you did. **Helen L. Keenan**

●

MADISON, WISC.

Your article on the Youth March was fabulous—to say the least. Two of my friends went on it and were quite distressed to see so little publicity on it.

Ellen Priwer

●

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Please send me 10 copies of your reprints of your Youth March picture story. I did not ever see that issue and many people at my P.T.A. group would like to have a copy.

Monte Norris

We still have reprints for the asking.—Ed.

Krebiozen supply

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The present supply of Krebiozen will be exhausted by late summer. To replenish this supply the non-profit Committee for a Fair Test of Krebiozen is seeking $500,000. Contributions of any amount are welcome and may be sent to Ivy Cancer Research Foundation, 343 South Dearborn St., Chicago 4, Ill. Krebiozen can be obtained only through your doctor. One ampule costs $9.50, but has never been refused because of inability to pay. Eighty ampules is the average dose required to arrest the cancer but, even when successful, must still be administered to prevent recurrence. Readers who desire further information may write to the committee. **Thomas Grabell**

Vet's benefits

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

According to one of the men's mags, Gen. Douglas McArthur, the old soldier who never dies, is now fading away on a salary of $79,548 per annum. The thought occurs that with that kind of dough rolling in, the General can hardly afford to die. And I wonder if any crapshooting serviceman, not retired, would care to fade him.

Hal Driggs

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

I AM GOING TO QUOTE chapter and verse from the record of the 81st Congress to document my charge that ADA liberals and Reuther-Carey-Murray type labor leaders are liberal fronts for the fascist movement in America. On one issue after another, the "compromising liberals" in the Congress played a role which ensured the defeat of the whole program for which the people voted.

On the question of changing Senate filibuster rules, talk came from Lucas (D-Ill.) representing President Truman. It came from Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Douglas (D-Ill.). They said we could not get any better. The fight on civil rights has been a complete sellout. But the main sellout has been from the leaders of labor.

On Taft-Hartley, Rep. Javits (R-N.Y.) announced the idea of plant seizure and Humphrey and Douglas are backing him. On the housing front they are doling out housing with an eyedropper. Douglas and Humphrey said we must be practical. But if so-called liberals cannot stand up and fight for American housing without discrimination, but must surrender to get 810,000 units in six years when we need 500,000 a year, I say the situation is very tragic for American democracy.

—Rep. Vito Marcantonio in the Guardian, June 27, 1949

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

On our foreign policy

(Continued from Page 1)

phasized the need for a summit meeting, especially if the foreign ministers failed.

He said the presence of East and West German representatives at Geneva meant legal as well as practical recognition by the Western powers of two sovereign German states. It would be logical, therefore, to sign a peace treaty with the two Germanys and let them talk reunification as equals.

Khrushchev said that the Western powers in their package proposal had called for a 30-month period for an all-German committee to resolve the problem of reunification. Gromyko at Geneva had proposed Western occupation rights in West Berlin for 12 to 18 months, during which the all-German committee would seek reunification. Even this time limit, Khrushchev added, was subject to negotiations. The gap here had obviously narrowed, opening the way to a compromise agreement.

"The contemporary international situation is very complicated," Khrushchev said, and many difficult problems can be resolved only by heads of government. "That is why," he said, "if it is necessary I am willing to meet not merely once with the chiefs of Western powers."

IF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT do not meet, the international situation will not remain frozen but will deteriorate further—with possible disaster in its wake.

In Britain, where the Labor Party's proposal for suspending nuclear tests is swiftly gathering momentum, the demand for dissociating London from Washington's sterile policy will increase. French President de Gaulle will probably win his bid for nuclear weapons and manufacturing know-how, as well as support for the Algerian war from the U.S.

President Eisenhower, reluctant to meet Khrushchev, is reported eager to meet de Gaulle. Washington, the **Times** said (June 21), is not entirely unsympathetic to de Gaulle's position. No doubt Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee will clamor for and get nuclear weapons from the U.S.

Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, who had urged a four-week Geneva recess, will seek to dictate the terms on West Berlin and reunification. He has already called for a U.S.-British-French-West German "summit meeting" before the foreign ministers reconvene July 13. He is already sure of nuclear arms for West German troops.

Indefinite East-West deadlock will inevitably mean more nuclear weapon tests. Thus, if the placing of nuclear weapons in the hands of megalomaniac dictators does not precipitate a holocaust, mankind will be threatened with the slower, but equally deadly, spread of radioactive fallout. And Americans will not be immune to either.

NOR WILL A SUMMIT MEETING relax international tensions if it is held only to endorse the status quo. It will have lasting value only if, at a minimum, it (1) halts nuclear tests as a prelude to nuclear disarmament; produces acceptance of (2) the principle of friendly competition among differing social systems, and (3) the necessity for social change in the underdeveloped countries and noninterference in the affairs of other nations.

A sound and decent statement of American principle was enunciated by Rep. Byron Johnson (D-Colo.) during defense budget debate in the House on June 3. Johnson noted that the U.S. defense and mutual security budget this year was equivalent to $18 "for every man, woman and child on the face of the globe in preparing for man's destruction." In contrast, he said, to meet Moscow's economic offensive, Washington appropriated the equivalent of "50 cents per capita globally." Johnson added:

"Peace will be built, not by terror, but by the settlement of disputes by peaceful means—however difficult negotiations may be . . . The hundreds of millions of hungry persons in Asia and Africa cannot eat our bayonets, do not want to be blanketed with fallout from our bombs . . . If we could apply only a third of the [defense] budget to a global war [on] hunger, misery, illiteracy, disease and poverty, [we would] more truly provide for our common defense."

There is the beginning of a restatement of American policy.

—THE GUARDIAN

Spectacle

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Your article re the capitulation of Chicago unions to the Un-Americans was extremely timely. Organized labor in the U.S. has been sold a bill of goods. By continually yielding to reactionary pressure, all liberal elements have been "purged" and we now have the spectacle of a pie-card artist like Hoffa taking a militant stand, while the orthodox labor movement yells "agitator!" Disgusting. **A.K.F.**

THE BROADCAST THAT COST A JOB

'People's Capitalism is pure Madison Avenue moonshine'

The following essay on the myth of "People's Capitalism" in the U.S. was delivered over the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. on March 30 this year by Peter Whitehouse, then a staff member of the CBC in Toronto. In the course of a letter to the GUARDIAN granting permission to reprint the talk, Mr. Whitehouse wrote:

"Incidentally, it might be interesting to note that I was dismissed from my post for giving this talk on the CBC. One of the directors heard the talk and advised me that I couldn't stay in a big capitalist organization if I criticized capitalism. I asked him, in view of the fact that everyone had to work in a capitalist organization in a capitalist society, whether he didn't think my dismissal was a coercive measure aimed at suppressing free spech and freedom of thought and opinion. He then advised me to go to Russia. In reply to this crude suggestion I asked him whether he realized that one of the basic principles of democracy was that minority opinions should be able to be freely expressed, and that what he was suggesting by advising me to go to Russia was that anyone holding a minority opinion should either shut up or get out, a distinctly fascist outlook."

By Peter Whitehouse

THE MADISON AVENUE experts who have the job of demonstrating the virtues of American-style capitalism have just come up with a staggering claim that Marxism exists in America.

Karl Marx, they say, would do a somersault in his grave if he knew that the millions and millions of America's "little" people have today become capitalists and own the nation's tools of production. This idea of people's capitalism can be found in a recent flood of magazine advertisements by corporations like General Electric, and in slick, expensively produced brochures put out by the public relations departments of Standard Oil of New Jersey, the duPont Corp., and similar industrial giants.

Briefly the theory is this. Because nearly nine million people in the U.S.A. own stock of some sort, this wide diffusion of ownership gives these lucky nine million effective control over the nation's economy, and thus over the nation itself.

Well, in the first place, as I see it, nine million people is only 5% of the population, which leaves 95% without any stock at all. That takes care of the theory right there.

HOWEVER, NOT LONG AGO, a writer in **Life** magazine, Ernest Haveman, must have spotted this glaring error, because he cunningly expanded the figure of nine million stockholders to 106 millions—how? By the simple expedient of including anyone and everyone who has a few dollars in insurance and pension plans. According to Mr. Haveman's logic everyone who pays any kind of insurance is a stockholder, because the insurance companies, of course, invest his money for him.

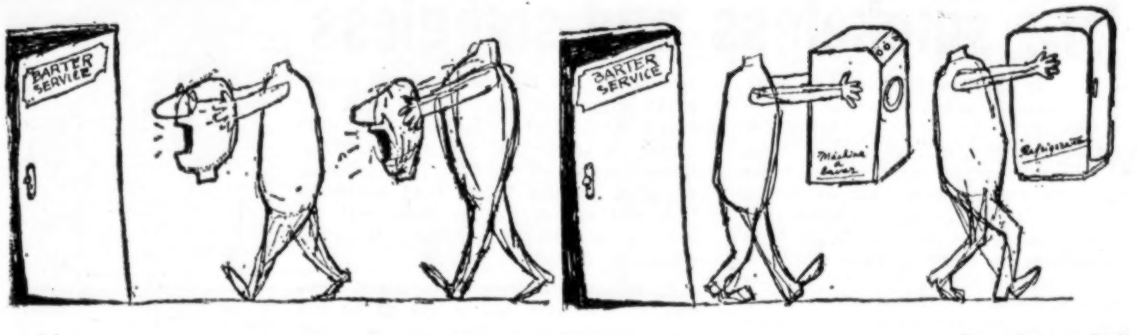
Unfortunately a touch of harsh reality here immediately punctures this nonsense. Just consider. It takes $25,000 of invested capital at current rates to produce a bare $1,000 of annual dividends. You can bet that Aunt Sadie and Uncle Bob haven't anywhere near that amount of insurance or pension funds. They probably are just drawing an annual $7.80 like almost everyone else. It's nice flattery to call Aunt Sadie a stockholder and Uncle Bob a financier, and all the millions with pittances in pension plans or in insurance schemes blue chip investors—it's nice flattery—and utter nonsense too.

So let's stick to a figure of nine or ten million owners of corporate stock—the 5% of the population I mentioned earlier on—and get deeper into the theory. Do we really have even nine or ten million People's Capitalists? A glance at how these stocks are distributed gives us the answer.

Take the American wage earner . . . what does he own? According to official figures only one wage earner in a hundred owns any stock at all . . . and all the stocks owned by the wage earners put together only amount to a mere $750,000,000 worth, which is so small it's beyond the vanishing point. By contrast the Rockefeller and Mellon families own over $3,000,000,000 in stock, the duPonts over $4,000,000,000. In fact, the holdings of the Rockefeller family in one company alone, Standard Oil of New Jersey, amount to twice the amount of stock held by all the American wage earners combined.

SO THE WAGE EARNER isn't a People's Capitalist after all. Then who is, besides the Rockefellers, the duPonts, the Mellons, the Pews, and the Whitneys? That 5% of the nation, of course—middle and upper class people—except that most of them own the wrapping paper and a very few what's inside the parcel. All of which makes me think of an amusing little cartoon I recently saw in a paper called the **Weekly People.** The cartoon appeared during the height of last year's layoffs, and it showed a long line of gloomy workers in front of a pay window. The worker at the head of the line is just getting a card marked "Laid Off" in big black letters, and he's saying, "But you can't lay me off . . . I'm a stockholder."

Let's get back to our ten million People's Capitalists. A short time ago a Senate Committee announced that out of the country's 43 million families, something like a half a million only own four-fifths of all the nation's stockholdings. Last June, Victor Perlo, a well known American economist, confirmed this pretty well in the **American Economic Review** with this example. Victor Perlo said that 100 of the largest stockholders in Standard Oil of New Jersey—that is about .0707%—own nearly half the stock. On the other hand, more than 100,000 stockholders, representing more than three-quarters of the total number, own less than 8% of Standard Oil's stock. And this same pattern of stock distribution applies to all the large American corporations.



Tim, L'Express, Paris

Which is more important—freedom of opinion . . . or higher living standards?

So this People's Capitalism is a myth . . . a myth, it seems to me, that is really designed to conceal one fact . . . that distribution of wealth is grossly unequal in the U.S.A., reputedly the most democratic nation on earth. Economic control of the U.S.A. is not in the hands of ten million people's capitalists. It lies in the hands of a very small elite which, according to G. A. Elliot, formerly president of the Canadian Political Science Assn., probably consists of some 2,000 men, or one eighty-thousandth part of the population. And incidentally, the story is exactly the same in Canada where, with one-tenth of the U.S.A.'s population, her economic elite is one-tenth of theirs . . . about 200 men. As for all the other Americans . . . the almost 200,000,000 who aren't in the club of the elite, well—maybe they'd like to save enough to become people's capitalists too, but unfortunately they can't.

EVEN IN THE BOOM YEAR of 1956 after all, the annual income of 35,000,000 of America's 45,000,000 families—roughly three-quarters of America's households— averaged less than $2,500. That's right, a $2,500 average annual income for more than three-quarters of America's families. At the same time one-tenth of 1% (America's top income families) earned just as much as what more than half of America's families—the lower income families—earned. And just one more statistic. What about personal savings? Well, 80% of bank savings are owned by about 6% of the people.

Charles V. Neal, a prominent family counselor, writing in the Los Angeles **Times** a year ago, gave a pretty good summary of the situation when he declared that an average family living on $4,000 a year was able to carry on only by running $62 a month into the red, a debt of $700 a year. Two years ago the well known magazine **Business Week** put it even better. "Savings," it said, "on any income below $7,500 a year are trivial." Well, I'd add this too, that savings on any income below $10,000 a year are, if not trivial, at least very limited. And only about four families in 50 get over $10,000 a year, so whichever way you look at it, the number of Americans who can save enough to invest substantially is abysmally small.

The number of Americans, in other words, with boutonnieres in their lapels, a seat at the stockholder's meeting and a pair of scissors handy in a well packed safe-deposit box is about as impressive a total as—well—the number of oases in the Gobi desert. I pay my respects to the public relations geniuses of the ESSO Corporation, duPonts and General Electric, but really, People's Capitalism is pure Madison Avenue Moonshine.

GRIEVANCE SETUP AND WAGE REVIEW WON

New York hospital strike is over; unmentioned union is 'recognized'

PATIENTS AT SEVEN New York voluntary (non-profit) hospitals were again getting fresh bed linen regularly last week after a strike of 3,000 nonprofessional employes was settled.

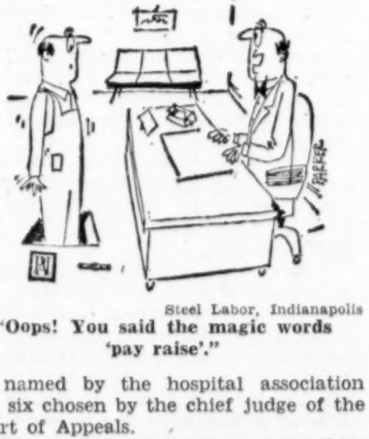
The strike began on May 8 when the hospitals refused to grant recognition to Local 1199 of the AFL-CIO Retail Drug Employes. Wages were as low as $32 for a 40-hour week (they were raised and overtime pay instituted after the workers walked out) and grievances had backlogged for many months. About 85% of the strikers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Hospital officials, speaking through the Greater New York Hospital Assn., claimed unions had no place in their institutions. They pointed out that state and Federal laws exempt (but do not prohibit) them from dealing with unions. The struck hospitals included Mt. Sinai, Beth Israel, Lenox Hill, Beth David, Flower-Fifth Av., Bronx and Brooklyn Jewish.

PEACE FORMULA: Mayor Robert F. Wagner appointed a fact-finding committee to propose a settlement after the hospitals refused to meet with the union. It was the committee's peace formula which served as a basis for the final settlement.

The agreement varied from usual labor-management understandings. It provided for no written contract between the groups. Instead the hospitals issued a "declaration of policy" to which the union agreed to be bound. It called for:

- Employes to elect a representative to sit with a management spokesman to mediate grievances.
- $1 an hour minimum wage to go into effect July 1. And a $2 a week wage increase to employes whose wages are not increased by that amount by the new minimum. Overtime at time and one-half to begin after 40 hours work.
- Wages to be reviewed annually by a control board consisting of 12 members; six named by the hospital association and six chosen by the chief judge of the Court of Appeals.
- Strikers to be taken back to their jobs as soon as possible without prejudice. Except those charged with violence will be subject to the new grievance procedure.



Steel Labor, Indianapolis

"Oops! You said the magic words 'pay raise'."

The union, for its part, issued a no-strike pledge.

THE UNION IS THERE: Although the union was not mentioned in the hospitals' declaration, it was felt by most that the agreement granted de facto recognition. It was clear that the employes would chose a union official to represent them at grievance sessions; thus the hospitals would be dealing with the labor group. The hospitals seemed satisfied that there would be no shop steward system nor across-the-table bargaining.

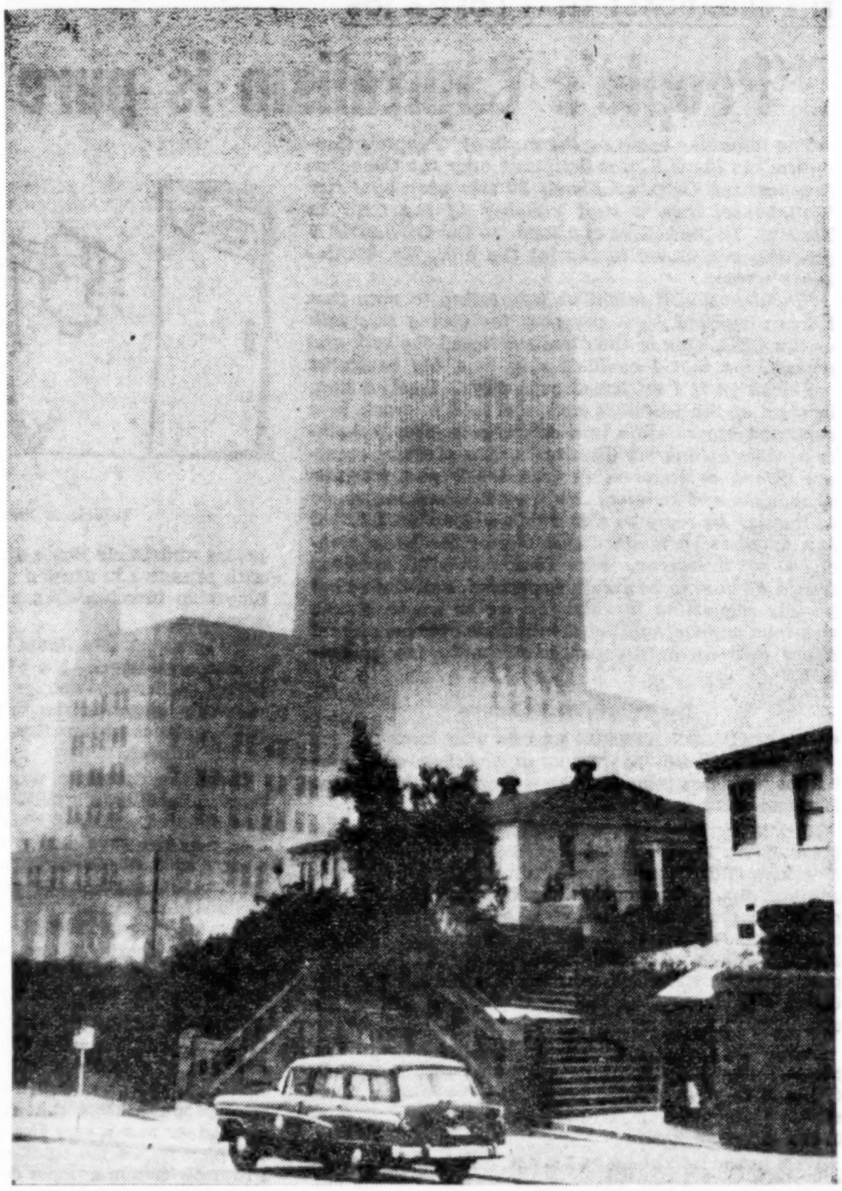
The strikers ratified the agreement on June 22 with only one dissenting vote. Leon J. Davis, president of the striking local, called the settlement a victory. He said "it provides a means for the workers, through the union, to handle their problems, including wages and grievances, and sets the stage for building a powerful union in every voluntary hospital in the city."

The agreement also gave encouragement to Local 144 of the AFL-CIO Hotel and Allied Service Employes which is negotiating with 37 proprietary (profit-making) hospitals in the city.

THE RIGHT TO FRESH AIR

A land where industrial cities are smokeless and smogless

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent



SMOG HIDES THE SKYSCRAPER CITY HALL OF LOS ANGELES
This was a clear warm day in Southern California last March

MOSCOW

WHEN THE SKIES are clear here, they are really clear. A sparkling blue with bracing clean air to match them, usually. On the rare occasions that fog descends, it is a light, white fog that has nothing in common with the "pea soup" varieties known in Western European and some American cities. At no time of the year are shirts or handkerchiefs soiled after a few hours use. In other words, there is no smog in any industrial centers I have visited.

It is safe to predict now that there never will be, because of the stepped-up tempo of switching from coal to gas and oil as the principal source of fuel.

Over the whole of the Soviet Union by the end of the Seven-Year Plan, coal will drop from its present place of 60% of fuel used, to 43%. The share of oil and gas will move up from the present 31% to 51%. A large part of the coal will be consumed where it is mined, in thinly inhabited areas East of the Urals.

PIPE-LINES: All over Moscow gas pipelines are being laid under major city streets. It is part of the plan to reduce drastically Moscow's coal consumption—already very low compared to most cities of this size. At present Moscow uses about 6,000,000 tons of coal a year. By 1965, this will be reduced to only 700,000 tons and natural gas consumption will move up from 4,000,000 cubic meters to 13,000,000. That is the way things are moving in all the main cities. Urban dwellers should soon be breathing air almost as pure as the country-dwellers.

DECLARING
WAR ON
Smoke

Soviet Weekly, London

Construction of trunk gas pipe-lines is now being pushed ahead. The biggest will be a 4,300-mile line linking the Soviet Far East with the European parts of the Soviet Union. About one-quarter of this has been completed.

Huge natural gas deposits have been discovered fairly recently, some of them claimed as the biggest in the world. The most spectacular is near Kiva, in Turkmenia, once a center of an ancient, flourishing Central Asia civilization and later entirely reclaimed by the desert. An underground gas deposit extending more than 200 miles, absolutely unique in the world, has been located here. Reserves are estimated at 1,300 billion cubic meters. A new, industrialized Kiva is destined to flourish over the buried remains of the ancient city.

SWITCH-OVER: Near Bokhara in Uzbekhistan, vast reserves of natural gas are also to be tapped, and a new gas center is to be built there during the Seven-Year Plan, linked by pipe-line with the Urals. One of the weaknesses of the Urals industrial center in the past has been that it is fed by coal hauled great distances. During the next few years, the Ural industries will start switching to natural gas piped in from Uzbekhistan and the Komi Autonomous Republic on the Volga. Coal consumption will shrink to less than half the present consumption despite a large increase in industrial output.

It seems that heavy industrial centers of the near future are to be not only smogless — as they are now—but smokeless as gas and oil take over. Naturally there are other factors in the switch. Fuel consumption costs for the Urals are scheduled to cost $140,000,000 less in 1965 than in 1958. During the seven-year transition period in Moscow, the city expects to save $500,000,000 in fuel costs.

In all, the switch from coal to natural gas and oil is expected to save the Soviet Union just about the amount set aside to build all the power stations and power and thermal grids provided for in the Seven-Year Plan—that is about $12,000,000,000.

ELECTRIFICATION: The tendency is to push gas and oil burners into the big cities, into the highly industrialized western parts of the country and turn the coal into power as close as possible to where it is mined. By 1965, half of all the coal produced in the U.S.S.R. will be in the Eastern areas. It will feed such giant steam power stations as the Tom-Usinskaya in Siberia with a capacity of 2,000,000 kilowatts. New steam power stations in the western parts will be fed with natural gas or heavy diesel oil. Fifty of the biggest blast furnaces and a large number of open-hearth furnaces will also go over to a natural gas-oxygen fuel.

In line with the clean fuel drive in industry is that to electrify the railway system. During the next seven years all the trunk lines, totalling about 60,000 miles, will be switched to electric or diesel traction—mainly electric. Traffic capacity will be doubled. Instead of being burned in the locomotive fire-boxes, the coal will be turned into electric power where it is mined and transmitted direct to the trunk railway systems.

The 3,500-mile Moscow-Irkutsk section of the Trans-Siberian will be completely electrified—by far the longest electric line in the world. A stretch of 1,900 miles has already been completed. The saving in coal will more than pay for the switch-over including all the installations. By 1965, it is estimated that the electrified lines will haul 45% of all passengers and freight carried.

MOUNTAIN AIR: If smogless, smokeless cities present immediate pospects for the present, something even better is promised for the future. Not just clean, countryside air for the cities but ion-rich mountain air brought into homes and streets of the big cities.

Abkhazia is that mountainous coastal area of the Black Sea which adjoins Georgia and is famous for its healthful climate and high proportion of centenarians. The secret is found to be that the air of Abkhazia is rich in negative ions.

Artificial ionizers have now been developed in the Soviet Union on an experimental scale. They bring the air of Abkhazia right into your drawing room. My neighbor, the well-known Soviet writer Konstantin Paustovsky, who suffers badly from asthma, never travels now without his ionizer. Some have been installed in factories and hospitals with results that could otherwise only be obtained by sending workers and patients to Crimean sanatoria. Paustovsky wrote to the inventor, Alexander Mikulin—an aircraft designer and member of the Soviet Academy of Science: "After three or four days of breathing ions, I stopped gasping. Barometer changes now hardly ever bring on an asthma attack. I am amazed and so is everyone else."

THINGS TO COME: Looking into the fairly near future, the English-language monthly **Soviet Union** writes: "It won't be long before the city dweller will take street ionizers as much for granted as street lights. Fountains that saturate the air with ions will appear in city squares. Parks and gardens will have a new and industrious assistant. . . . Meanwhile ionization enthusiasts are thinking along simpler lines. They want to bring mountain air into the ordinary city home."

Models of portable, home units are now under study by the Soviet Ministry of Health and there is no doubt that they will soon be as common as vacuum cleaners in the Moscow shops.

The heartening thing about all this is, of course, that there is a definite idea here that air, in addition to being free, should also be as pure and health-promoting as modern technique can make it. Obviously, the key to it all is that there are no vested interests standing in the way of fresh air here.

A face-lifting job on Soviet press

ACCORDING TO a recent report in the Paris **L'Express** from its Moscow correspondent, the editors of the 28 chief Soviet newspapers gathered in Moscow to discuss the improvement of the Soviet press. Moscow papers published no reports of the conference, at which CP secy. Pospelov and Presidium member Mme. Furtseva were reportedly present.

L'Express said that "the objects of the conference were revealed" in an article in **Izvestia** which recently criticized the form and content of the Soviet press as "more resembling ministerial bulletins than modern newspapers." All the papers, it said, published the same "dry and pompous" propaganda articles containing "elementary truths known by everyone." The article said the papers should come closer to life by publishing more humor, daily news events, and popularized science and cultural articles.

The Paris paper's correspondent added that Soviet citizens returning from abroad almost always draw unfavorable comparisons between their own and foreign newsstands. They describe Western newsstands as "a permanent exhibition of graphic and photographic art," while Soviet ones are merely "a shop window for official journals."

As though confirming the decision to revamp the Soviet press, it was announced in Moscow May 26 that Aleksei I. Adzhubei, editor of **Komsomolskaya Pravda**, the Communist Youth paper, had been named editor of **Izvestia**, the government newspaper. Under Adzhubei's direction **Komsomolskaya Pravda**, considered the brightest newspaper in the U.S.S.R., increased its circulation from 1,500,000 to 3,500,000. **Izvestia** has for years been fixed at 1,500,000. Adzhubei visited the U.S. three years ago and spent a good deal of time in newspaper shops here. With Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, he was reported to be impressed with the first-hand reporting in the U.S. press and the human interest stories.

On June 3 **Izvestia** appeared on the stands with a new makeup, livelier headlines, bigger pictures and a front-page cartoon. There seemed little doubt that the **Izvestia** changes were only the first step in a major revision of the Soviet press.

VOTERS DEFY EXCOMMUNICATION

Vatican rebuffed in Sicilian elections

By Cedric Belfrage

ROME

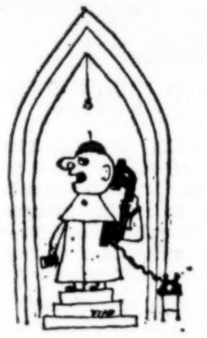
FOR A LONG TIME Italy's industrial monopolists have secured their position by a skillful "red scare"—partly by exploiting the Communist Party's own errors, mainly by effective propaganda manipulation in which the Church has played the leading role. Widely enough to paralyze the political scene, the idea was spread that no matter how bad things might get for the masses no form of cooperation with Communists to improve things was possible or permissible.

On June 7 there were elections in the island of Sicily, Italy's southernmost and most bitterly impoverished section. A week earlier top left-wingers here talked optimistically to me about the ebb of the "red scare" tide. In Aosta in the far north, a bloc of parties including the Communists had won over 50% of the votes at the end of May. In Ravenna province the Left (Communists and Socialists) had made appreciable gains.

Belfrage now in Israel

Cedric Belfrage paused in Italy long enough to report on the Sicilian election. He is now in Israel for several weeks and will report his impressions of that nation next month in a special GUARDIAN series.

The Vatican threw all its weight into the Sicilian contest, but still the Left was confident that threats of excommunication would not daunt the islanders (average income: $168 a year) in their determination for a new deal.



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Ask the Pope if it's all right to vote liberal?"

THE MAIN TARGET: The Sicilian set-up was something new in Italian politics. Silvio Milazzo of the ruling Christian Democrats had broken with his party last October and formed the Christian Social Union to govern with Socialists, Communists and the extreme Right. This was the government that the voters were called upon to confirm or reject. The anathema of the Church against voting for anyone who would work with the Left was specifically aimed by Sicily's Cardinal Ruffino against Milazzo and his CSU. To this was added a flood of pressure letters—organized by the Hearst press—from former Sicilians in the U.S.

Left-wing pundits in Rome prophesied to me: "You will see the limits to poor Italian Catholics' acceptance of Church political directives." The results bore this out, startlingly to any foreigner who may tend to judge from the surface of cleric-ridden Italy.

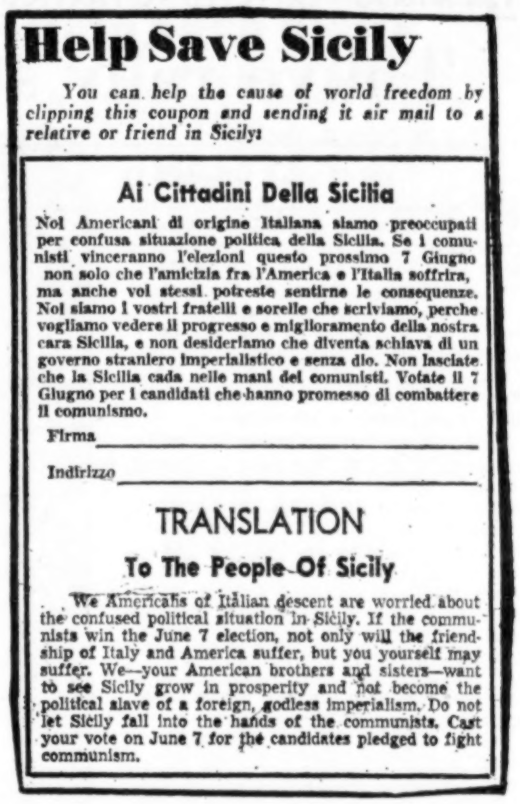
THE HARD WAY: The Christian Democrats still won more parliamentary seats (34) than any other party but lost three seats and over 150,000 votes. **Time** magazine said (June 22) that they learned the hard way the truth of the saying: "Never threaten a Sicilian; he has nothing to lose." Both Communists (21) and Socialists (11) gained one seat. Milazzo's new party won nine seats with over 250,000 votes. Several of the elected Christian Democrats are reportedly sympathetic with Milazzo's movement.

This gives the balance of power to Milazzo, who said: "The results show the true soul of the Sicilian people, who see in full autonomy the only salvation of the island." Autonomy was the winning slogan of the campaign for Milazzo's and all allied parties. Sicily is already formally autonomous, but in fact—contrary to Italy's Constitution—90% of the legislation (such as land reform) which the island most urgently needs has been squelched by the central government.

For Sicilian Communist leader Li Causi the results showed "how deep is the rebellion against the Christian Democratic party." He stressed that Milazzo's new party had shown both in government and in the electoral campaign its renunciation of "anti-communism" as a guide to political action.

THE BASIC ISSUES: Sicilians of all classes seem to have identified the red herrings for what they are and decided to unite on attacking their island's real problems. The real issues are land reform, industrialization, and an end to ruthless Northern and foreign exploitation of the island's natural wealth (including oil, now in effect the object of rape by the U.S.'s Gulf Oil Co.).

Sicilian business men, fed up with the Northern monopolists' grip on the whole Italian economy through their instrument, the Christian Democratic party, back Milazzo almost 100%. As top island industrialist La Cavera told a London **New Statesman** correspondent: "We don't want this to be a land where the sheiks drive around in golden Cadillacs while the people die of hunger."



Help Save Sicily

You can help the cause of world freedom by clipping this coupon and sending it air mail to a relative or friend in Sicily:

Ai Cittadini Della Sicilia

Noi Americani di origine Italiana siamo preoccupati per confusa situazione politica della Sicilia. Se i comunisti vinceranno l'elezioni questo prossimo 7 Giugno non solo che l'amicizia fra l'America e l'Italia soffrira, ma anche voi stessi potreste sentirne le consequenze. Noi siamo i vostri fratelli e sorelle che scriviamo, perche vogliamo vedere il progresso e miglioramento della nostra cara Sicilia, e non desideriamo che diventa schiava di un governo straniero imperialistico e senza dio. Non lasciate che la Sicilia cada nelle mani dei comunisti. Votate il 7 Giugno per i candidati che hanno promesso di combattere il comunismo.

Firma ____________________

Indirizzo ____________________

TRANSLATION

To The People Of Sicily

We Americans of Italian descent are worried about the confused political situation in Sicily. If the communists win the June 7 election, not only will the friendship of Italy and America suffer, but you yourself may suffer. We—your American brothers and sisters—want to see Sicily grow in prosperity and not become the political slave of a foreign, godless imperialism. Do not let Sicily fall into the hands of the communists. Cast your vote on June 7 for the candidates pledged to fight communism.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

INTERFERENCE IN FOREIGN ELECTIONS

How Hearst papers tried to swing the Sicily vote

DRIVE FOR AUTONOMY: The political alliance, including the extreme Right, means a temporary burial of differences for the sake of making Sicily genuinely autonomous instead of an object of cynical exploitation. For this all the allied parties need each other. While less pressing in other sections, this is a key issue throughout Italy—a European land second only to Spain in its contrasts between rich and poor.

Milazzo's pre-election coalition government will remain in power until the new Regional Assembly meets July 7. The somewhat chastened Christian Democrats are reported to have offered an olive branch to Milazzo to bring him back into the fold.

Even if they succeed, the Sicilian election results are likely to start a new and promising trend in the bogged-down Italian political scene. They indicate a crisis for the Christian Democrats and a new spurt of mobility on the Left. The "red scare" is losing its force despite all the efforts of the monopolists, the fattening bourgoisie, and the Church, which has labored so strenuously to sanctify exploitation.

CONTEMPT CASES REVERSED

High Court limits its Jencks ruling

AT GUARDIAN press time it was learned that the Supreme Court, 5-4, had upheld a 1957 Congressional statute limiting its decision in the case of Clinton Jencks. The Jencks decision, handed down in June, 1957, held that defendants in Federal criminal cases were entitled to pre-trial inspection of statements made to the government by its witnesses. This was to enable defense attorneys to check the statements against trial testimony.

Congress in 1957 passed a law restricting the kind of statements that had to be produced. In seven cases before the Court this year, defense attorneys argued for no restrictions, or for a declaration that the statute was unconstitutional. The Court last week rejected their arguments. The division in the court was the same as in the Barenblatt and Uphaus cases.

OHIO CASES WON: However, the Court unanimously threw out the contempt convictions of three Ohioans—Emmet Calvin Brown, Mrs. Anna H. Morgan and Talmadge Raley—for refusing to answer questions of an Ohio Un-American Activities Commission in 1952. The Court said the three had been entrapped by the Commission chairman, who first advised them that they had the right to rely on a state constitutional privilege against self-incrimination; then held them in contempt for not answering under an offer of immunity. The Ohio Supreme Court upheld the chairman. It was this decision which the Supreme Court reversed.

A fourth conviction, that of Joseph Stern, was upheld by a 4-4 vote, four of the justices holding that refusal to tell where he lived was not Stern's constitutional privilege. The new Justice Potter Stewart of Ohio did not participate, since his late father was a member of the State Supreme Court upholding the original convictions.

The Ohio defendants had all appealed $500 fines and, in the cases of the three men, ten-day jail sentences. All four had been active workers in the Ohio Progressive Party.

SUPERVISORY PAROLE

Foreign born win big court victory

A VICTORY of far-reaching proportions was won for the foreign born last week in the U.S. Court of Appeals. In a case brought by seven non-citizens (known as the Simonoff case) the court ruled that the Dept. of Immigration had no right to require aliens under supervisory parole to give 48 hours' notice before leaving the immigration district in which they live. The decision overturned a District Court ruling which had upheld the government's order.

Blanch Freedman, the attorney in the case which was sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be guest of honor at the Committee's annual picnic at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J., Sunday, June 28.

A menu of international delicacies has been planned, and a full program of games, songs and fun. Special buses will leave New York at 10 a.m. and return at 7 p.m. The fare is $1, and reservations must be made in advance. Picnic tickets are $1 (children free) and may be purchased at the Committee's offices, 49 E. 21st St., N.Y. 10, or by calling ORegon 4-5058.

RECORD ATTENDANCE FORECAST

400 from U.S.A. to join world youth at Vienna festival

MORE THAN 400 young Americans from 21 states will join an expected 20,000 delegates from 100 countries at the World Youth Festival in Vienna from July 26 to Aug. 4. The American delegation (70% students) includes two dance groups, a chorus and a troupe of actors.

Thirteen youth groups are represented. Students from Yale, Princeton, CCNY, UCLA, Vassar, Antioch and the University of Washington have already left for Europe or will leave on the chartered Ascania July 2. Many plan to tour Eastern and Western Europe before and after the Festival.

The Vienna Festival is expected to be one of the largest ever held. State Festivals have been held throughout the world in preparation. West Bengal held 300 local festivals with 20,000 participants. African youth groups held an All-African festival in Bamako. Japan will send 150 and Australia 30. Ninety British organizations, from trade unions to religious groups, will be represented, and 800 will attend from France.

Non-student American delegates include teachers, engineers, musicians, physicists and journalists.

REQUEST FROM AFRICA: The GUARDIAN received a letter from Gandhi S.E.E. Makia, Political Secretary of the Kamerun (Cameroon) National Congress in Nigeria, British West Africa. This is a minority political party (anti-colonial) which ran unsuccessfully in the last election. The Secretary requests contributions from GUARDIAN readers to enable his group to send a delegation to the Youth Festival. He writes:

"We are very sure that attending this Festival would be of great beneficial effect to our people." Contributions may be sent by postal money order to Makia at Basel Mission Bookshop, Kumba, British Cameroons, Nigeria, British West Africa. (Airmail is 25c a half ounce.)

TEN MILLION EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE

Tokyo rally starts Japan's 1959 Peace March

By John G. Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

FROM THE Hibiya Park Amphitheater, within earshot of the Imperial Palace grounds, came the sound of massed voices in a sad and deeply moving song about the Atom-bomb. Among the 10,000 people present were uniformed students, laborers, office employes, mothers, Buddhist monks and other peace supporters from every walk of life. All had come into the morning drizzle to support the 1959 Peace March to Hiroshima.

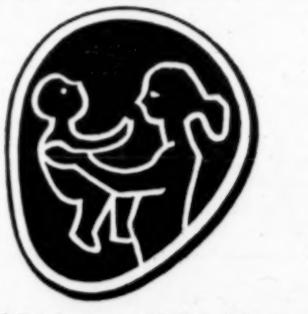
Last year one million joined the various stages of march. This year, the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs expects ten million marchers to celebrate the Fifth World Conference, opening in Hiroshima on August 5. Chairman Kaori Yasui, winner of the Lenin Peace Prize, says delegates from more than 40 countries will attend. Among them will be Nobel laureate Linus Pauling. India is expected to send a 50-member delegation and other large groups are expected from Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

Major emphasis of the rally was on prohibition of tests and outlawing of A- and H-weapons. Speakers attacked the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, which in the revised form proposed by the Japanese government would open the way to a restoration of militarism; the recently promulgated U.S. law in Okinawa permitting the death penalty for espionage, sabotage or sedition, which jeopardizes freedom of expression and threatens the peace movement; and American monopolization of Bonin Island as a top-secret base and the permanent exile of its inhabitants for "security."

CONVERGING GROUPS: After the rally the audience marched through downtown Tokyo. Confetti poured from buildings, workers took a break to watch, and hundreds along the way joined the procession.

A contingent of Buddhist monks with shaven heads and flowing yellow robes beat drums as they marched. With them was a prosperous businessman type who, after having done his stint, packed his drum into a fancy leather case and was whisked away by his chauffeur. A sprinkling of foreigners in the procession seemed to please and encourage the Japanese.

Only a few of the marchers were walking all the way to Hiroshima. But at the same time other groups were starting from Niigata prefecture in western Japan, from Tohuku and Hokkaido in the far north, and from Kyushu in the south. Most of the anticipated ten million will join the march in relays as the cadres, converging on Hiroshima by different routes, pass through cities, towns and villages.



Badge of the Japanese Mothers' Congress

RESPECTABLE: Since the end of the American Occupation the peace movement has begun to emerge as a "respectable" activity. Such demonstrations as the Hiroshima Peace March are no longer treated as some sort of subversive conspiracy or "internal aggression."

The biggest issue facing the regime of Premier Kishi is that relating to the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and its impending revision to elevate Japan to full partnership in the Cold War. Although the Socialist Party, with a platform of neutralism, peace, trade with China and abrogation of the Security Pact has been running a poor second to the Liberal Democrats in recent elections, its policies are immensely popular.

[On June 17 it was reported that Japan's General Council of Trade Unions, known as Sohyo, had joined with the Communist Party in a common program with emphasis on opposition to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Heretofore Sohyo, with a membership of 3,400,000, has been identified only with the Socialist Party, the chief opposition to the Kishi government. In announcing the common program with the Communists, a Sohyo spokesman said his organization would cooperate "in every field where the party is struggling for the betterment of people's lives." Although critical of some CP positions, the spokesman said the "proper attitude" of labor is to cooperate when Communists follow "the path for a peaceful revolution."]

To many, the present course of the big-business, pro-U.S. Kishi regime is obvious. Although the Constitution prohibits rearmament, production of war planes in Japan has been resumed and purchases of U.S. military aircraft are being arranged. Japan's first postwar submarine was launched last month and bills to expand the armed forces were rammed through the Diet under Tory pressure.

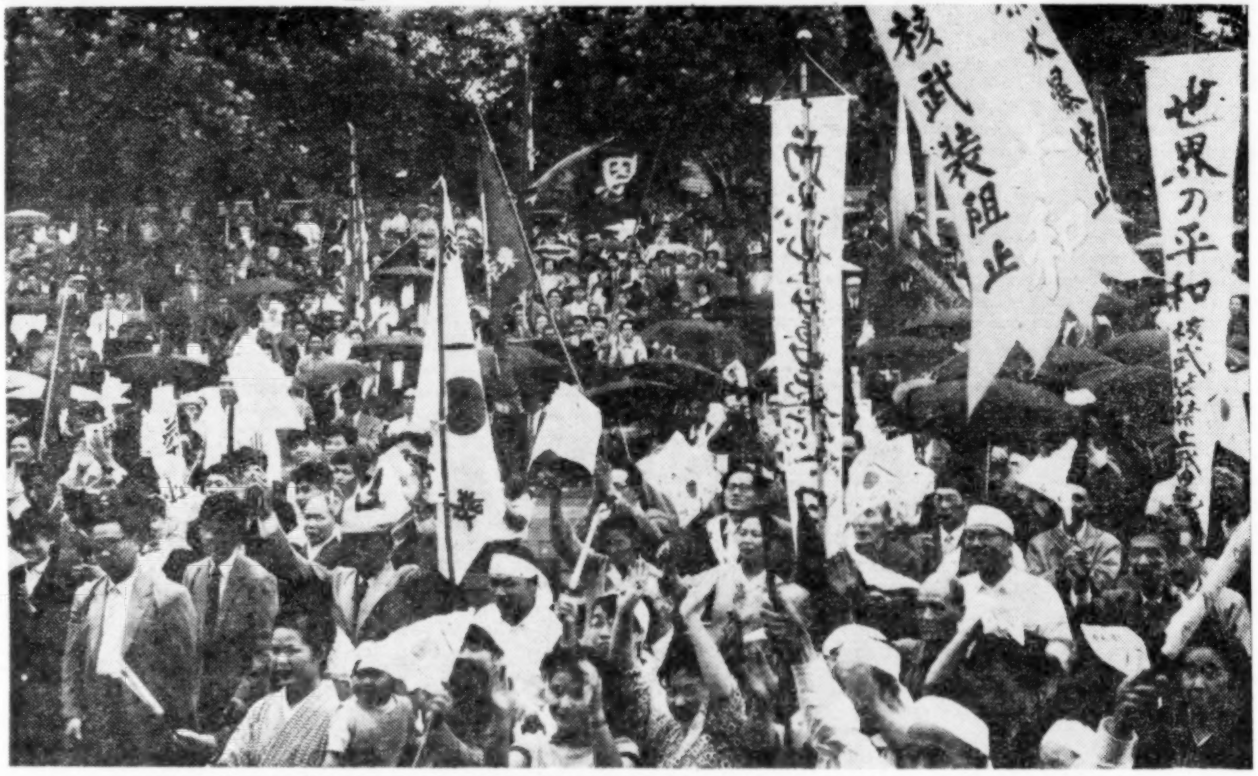
COLD WAR ACTS: Charges that U.S. forces are prepared to launch atomic warheads from Japan bases are vigorously denied, although the Japanese government has no effective means of detecting, much less preventing, such a development. Courses in ordnance engineering are being introduced into universities against student opposition.

The Defense Production Committee is promoting arms exports to Southeast Asia; the electronics industry is booming with American orders for components allegedly used in ballistics missiles. It was reported, denied, then half-admitted that Sidewinder missiles, or parts for them, were to be manufactured in Japan. And the local motor industry gets its largest orders from the U.S. Forces, whose "offshore procurement" program has been the stirrup by which the zaibatsu of Japanese big business have leaped back into the saddle.

Washington is hopeful that the Tory government will get into the warlike spirit to the extent of underwriting more of the costs of war preparation; but meanwhile U.S. taxpayers ante some $100,000,000 a year for Japan's "self-defense." She'll need it: one of the provisions of the proposed treaty revision states that any attack on American bases (the very existence of which is illegal according to the Constitution and a recent court decision) will be considered an attack against Japan.

ONE MAN'S PROTEST: One week before the Tokyo rally, a tragic suicide drew attention to Japan's march toward war and to the peace march opposing it. At about 11 a.m. on May 3, Rev. Untetsu Kobayashi, a roving Buddhist monk from Hiroshima, approached the official residence of Prime Minister Kishi. He read a statement opposing rearmament. He then handed the police guard an open letter to Kishi and demanded to see him. Failing to see the Premier, Rev. Kobayashi committed harakiri—an expression of his indignation at rearmament and of his sympathy for the war dead.

Kobayashi had dedicated several years of his life to a one-man peace campaign. Wearing a stole with the slogan "Renunciation of War" (a term used in the MacArthur Constitution) the monk made a tour of Japan preaching world peace. Last year he took part in the peace march to Hiroshima, the horrors of whose bombing had unquestionably affected him profoundly.


核武装阻止
世界の平和

PART OF THE 10,000 IN TOKYO WHO LAUNCHED THIS YEAR'S PEACE MARCH TO HIROSHIMA
Opposition grows to the new treaty which would make Japan a U.S. partner in the cold war

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EDUCATORS URGE COMMUTATION

1,000 at rally for Sobell in N. Y.

MORE THAN 1,000 persons crowded into New York's Webster Hall Friday night, June 19, for a meeting called to help win freedom for Morton Sobell after nine years of imprisonment. The rally was held six years to the night of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, with whom Sobell was found guilty on a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage.

Three noted educators addressed the meeting. They were Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School; Horace Kallen, professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research; and Murray Branch, professor of religion at Morehouse College in Atlanta. Both Helen Sobell, Morton's wife, and Rose Sobell, his mother, spoke movingly of the imprisoned man and their life with him, and recalled with expressive understatement the night of June 19, 1953.

THE BURDEN-BEARER: Prof. Branch referred to Sobell as a "luckless burden-bearer of a nation's pride" and said it was "exceedingly unlikely" that either he or the Rosenbergs could have received a fair trial "in view of the hysteria which then afflicted this nation under the stimulus of the late Senator McCarthy." He said:

"If the interests of the nation and of humanity are to be served, every instance of tyranny must be recognized for what it is and expunged from common life. To this end it is in order to call for a reopening of the case or clemency for Morton Sobell."

ACTION URGED: Dr. Kallen identified himself with a group of theologians and law professors, including Dr. Rheinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary and Prof. Edmond Cahn of New York University Law School, who made an independent study of the trial. They concluded that the case against Sobell was "slender in content and weak in proof" and recommended to President Eisenhower a commutation of sentence.

Dr. Kallen urged unceasing effort in this direction both to the White House and to the Dept. of Justice. He said his presence at the meeting was an "act of conscience." He and the other speakers paid tribute to the courage and steadfastness of Helen Sobell and her mother-in-law through the nine years.

The audience contributed close to $2,000 to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.).

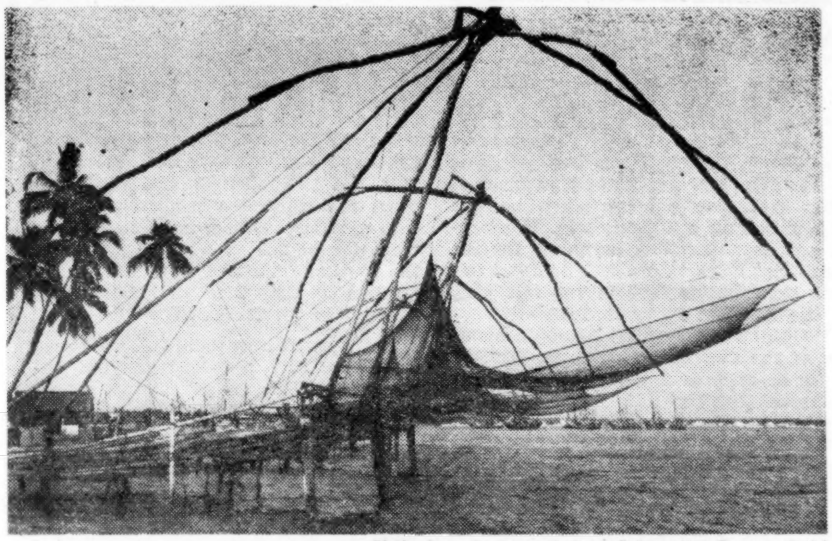


Photo from Government Press Information Bureau, Delhi

TROUBLE HAS COME TO VILLAGES LIKE THIS IN KERALA

A drive is on to unseat the freely-elected Communist government

USE OF GERMS AND GAS CALLED IMMORAL

Pacifist non-violent protest on chemical war July 1-5

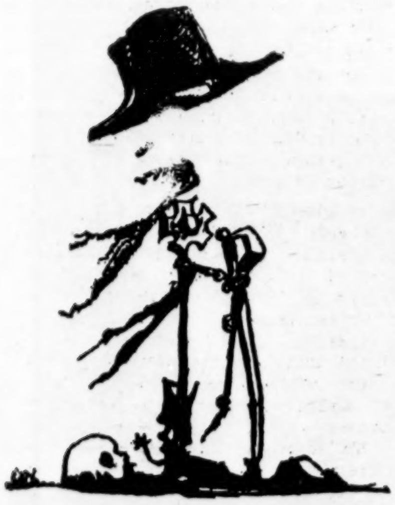
FROM DAWN TO DUSK, July 1-5, men and women will stand silently along the road at the entrance to Fort Detrick in Frederick, Md., in an appeal to stop preparation for germ and chemical warfare. They will be members and supporters of the Middle Atlantic Region of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In addition, the pacifist sponsors plan public meetings, door-to-door distribution of literature and talks with military and community officials. "All action," the sponsors say, "will be undertaken in openness and the spirit of non-violence."

In a letter to President Eisenhower on June 15 they announced their plans and added: "We believe you must share the revulsion we feel against biological and chemical warfare. Yet, the government of the United States is apparently making extensive preparations for such warfare at Fort Detrick in Maryland and at other military installations."

PROGRAM OFFERED: They urged the President to take the following steps: (1) announce that the U.S. is withdrawing from biological warfare preparation; (2) destroy all stockpiles of biological weapons; (3) sponsor, through the UN, an international agreement against biological weapons; (4) promote, through the UN, a "constructive program of health, food production and technical assistance."

Sponsors of the action include Albert Bigelow, George Willoughby and David Gale, skipper and crew of the Golden Rule ketch which tried to sail into the Pacific nuclear testing area last summer; and Charles C. Walker, Lillian Willoughby, Theodore Olson and Lawrence Scott, who have participated in previous vigils at missile launching sites and nuclear bomb testing areas. Chairman is Stewart Meacham, former labor advisor to Gen. Hodge in Korea. Their headquarters are at 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.



Lex in De Groene, Amsterdam

In an information sheet, the pacifists explained the timing of their action: "For the past year, officers of the Army Chemical Corps have been engaged in a campaign to persuade Congress that preparations for chemical and biological warfare should be accelerated. Now, these officers have launched a propaganda campaign to persuade the American public that biological and chemical weapons should be approved for retaliatory and offensive war."

HUMANE WAR: On June 16 Maj. Gen. William M. Creasy, former head of the Army Chemical Corps, tried to persuade Congress that chemical warfare would be "more humane" than a nuclear conflict because chemicals could be used to "merely harass, make sick or kill." He told the House Science and Astronautics Committee that chemicals "can cover fantastically greater areas than our present atomic explosive powers." In addition, he said, the army has developed gases that one "couldn't see, smell or feel."

Creasy also disclosed that, from captured Nazi documents, the U.S. has developed a "nerve gas" so lethal that a tiny drop will kill a man in ten to 15 minutes if it falls on his skin. He said the German army had been ordered to use the gas on Allied troops during the Normandy landings, but the order was rescinded by Hitler. He said if the gas had been used, our troops would never have reached the shore.

Committee Chairman Overton Brooks (D-La.) asked the general how psychochemicals work. Creasy explained that if some were released in the hearing room, the occupants would begin doing strange things without being aware of any change. "We would think nothing of seeing Congressmen McDonough dance across the desk," he said. "You'd probably join him and I'd clap."

IMMORAL: In their letter to Eisenhower, the pacifists summed up: "Such weapons are as immoral as they are incapable of achieving any useful purpose. Designed to deter, they tend to provoke instead. They cannot be justified even in terms of security. They expose all humanity to new and unexplored dangers, thus increasing our insecurity.

"When we plan to infect millions of defenseless men, women and children with germs and toxins, it is no excuse to say that other nations are doing the same thing. Surely there must be a moral standard to which individuals or nations should adhere, regardless of what other individuals or nations propose."

BIG LANDOWNERS SPUR OPPOSITION

Behind the attack on Kerala Communist rule

By Kumar Goshal

BEHIND THE EVENTS in Kerala is this one significant fact: In the only state in India where the Communist party came to power through popular and democratic elections two years ago, the opposition parties are trying to overthrow the administration by unconstitutional means.

The opposition is led by the Congress Party, which controls the central Parliament in New Delhi. It includes the Praja (People's) Socialist party, several minor parties and some independents. They have never been reconciled to CP control of the Kerala government.

But instead of initiating and supporting measures that might enhance their chances of defeating the CP in a democratic election in 1962, the Congress-led opposition has been seeking an excuse to create chaos, discredit the administration and furnish New Delhi with a superficially plausible excuse to oust the Kerala government under Parliament's emergency powers.

THE EDUCATION ACT: The opposition apparently thought it had found its excuse in Kerala's Education Act, which went into effect June 15 and affected several vested interests in the state.

There are about 11,000 secondary schools among Kerala's population of 13,000,000. More than 7,000 are under private management. The Catholic church and other Christian denominations operate about 3,000, the Service Society of the high caste Hindu Nairs 3,500, and the Moslems and other private interests 500.

While the state paid teachers' salaries and most of the maintenance cost of both private and public schools, private school managers had the right to hire and fire teachers and fix salaries—often to the disadvantage of both teachers and students. The managers also selected text books and teachers favoring their point of view and sometimes even deducted levies from salaries.

WHAT IT SEEKS TO DO: The Education Act was drawn up to eliminate the gravest shortcomings of the system. It enables the state administration (1) to raise the standards of text books in private schools, as it has already done in public schools—a step urgently needed throughout India since the country became free; (2) to regularize and raise teachers' salaries and pay them directly or through school headmasters. Most important of all, teachers would no longer be chosen on the basis of caste or religion but from a Public Service Commission list in which a number of positions would be reserved for the low-caste Hindu Ezhava community (3,500,000) which has no voice in education.

The opposition accused the CP of attempting through the Education Act to interfere in religious affairs and to "indoctrinate" school children in Communist theories. With the open support of the Christian churches and the Nairs, it launched early this month a campaign of intimidation, picketing of tax collection offices and threats to keep the private schools closed.

LAND REFORM BILL: Although the opposition said the campaign would be non-violent, cases of violence have been reported. A public school was set on fire while the state's Chief Minister, E. M. S. Namboodiripad—a CP member—was addressing a mass meeting a block away. Nevertheless all public schools and many private schools were reported to be operating according to schedule.

Many observers feel the opposition is linked to the even more basic opposition to the land reform bill passed by the Kerala Assembly early this month. (The private schools are sponsored by big landowners and, in the past, have always been subservient to them.) The land reform bill set a ceiling of 15 acres of rural land for a family of five, extended new tenure rights to the peasants and pledged state aid for cooperative farming. It was noted that Mannath Padmanabhan, wealthy Nair leader, originally supported the Education Act but shifted when the land reform bill was introduced. The Kerala Student Fedn. and the teachers, irrespective of affiliation, support the Act.

EXAMPLE FOR INDIA: The opposition's activities have provoked neither protest nor condemnation from the Congress Party executive committee, even though the Education Act is thoroughly constitutional. It was drawn up under the supervision of Kerala's Education Minister Joseph Mundaseri, an Indian Catholic, was amended by the Supreme Court and signed by India's President. Prime Minister Nehru is now in Kerala for an on-the-spot survey.

The opposition's tactics tend to support Communist predictions that vested interests would resort to violence to hang on to the past even if the CP were voted into power in a fair election.

In the long run, both Kerala's Education Act and land reform bill promise to have greater significance to the Indian people because the Congress Party, ruling in the center and in the other states, has advocated the same measures but has thus far failed to put them into practice.

Bunche and the Crimson scare

WORRIED BY the specter of communism haunting Harvard Yard, a group of alumni, headed by Archibald B. Roosevelt, last year established the Veritas Foundation (Harvard's motto is Veritas) with the following general objective: "To educate officials, teaching staffs, governing bodies, undergraduates and graduates of American universities upon the subject of communism, the international communist conspiracy and its methods of infiltration into the United States."

Last spring the Veritas Foundation was hot after a piece of infiltration into its own Yard: it discovered that Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Undersecretary General for Special Political Affairs, a Harvard Law School graduate, was one of ten nominees for six places on the Harvard Board of Overseers (trustees). It got to work immediately. A letter went from Roosevelt to Harvard's President Pusey insisting that Bunche's name be dropped as a nominee because of the suspicion that he had been associated with "communist-oriented groups" and "a new name picked—a name reflecting aggressive loyalty to our Republic."

Copies of the letter went to thousands of Harvard graduates who vote by mail ballot for the Board of Overseers. Included was an appeal for funds with a goal of $500,000 by the end of 1960. Bunche's name was not withdrawn.

Last week at Harvard's 323d commencement, the results were announced in election: 21,289 alumni had cast ballots; Bunche was elected with 15,437 votes, a record for a candidate.

The Black dissent

THE EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee has printed in pamphlet form the dissents by Justices Black and Brennan in the Barenblatt case. The price is 25 cents per copy, five for $1. Address: ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

WITCH-HUNTERS AT WORK IN 1948
Nixon poses with investigator Robert Stripling and J. Parnell Thomas

BOOKS

The 'transformation' of Richard M. Nixon

WHILE THE CANDIDATE with the "Pepsodent smile" and the "actor's perfection with lines" (the quotes were Senator Knowland's in 1955) barnstorms the Soviet Union, folks back home might take the opportunity to study the two faces of the Honorable Mr. Nixon as presented in two frankly unfriendly current booklets.

THE TWO FACES OF RICHARD NIXON, by California newspaperman Guy W. Finney (Era Books, P.O. Box 112, Toluca Sta., No. Hollywood, Calif. 40 pp. 50c.) digs into what the author calls "the nation's biggest facial repair job"—that of transforming "Slippery Dick" into appearing to be "an exemplar of truth, integrity and decency" for presidential 1960.

This job—a $5,000,000 undertaking of the Republican National Committee according to former Secy. of State Dean Acheson—has such boosters, Finney says, as the China Lobby, a selection of the biggest movie magnates and the same William Knowland who, when he made the foregoing remarks, also viewed Nixon as a politico who traded on "an ability to avoid issues as a qualification for high office."

To get his political start, Nixon answered a newspaper ad for a Republican to defeat Rep. Jerry Voorhis, a New Dealer called by Washington correspondents "the best Congressman west of the Rockies." An ample slush fund, support of 30 of 31 newspapers in the district, and a brisk telephone campaign turned the trick. The telephone called voters and said: "I'm a friend of yours . . . I want to warn you against Jerry Voorhis . . . He's a Communist."

FOUR YEARS LATER (1950), after a career as chief inquisitor of the House Un-American Activities Committee that "got" Alger Hiss, he opposed Helen Gahagan Douglas for U.S. Senator from California. The Douglas campaign was, according to the Los Angeles **Daily News,** the dirtiest in Southern California's history. The China Lobby spent $25,000 on it; Nixon's lawyer-politician mentor, Murray Chotiner, ran it. A high-power New York public relations firm, retained for $60,000 a year by the Bank of China, at Hedda Hopper's request organized an Independent Voters Committee for Nixon. Mrs. Douglas, a New Deal Congresswoman, was smeared into political oblivion.

By 1952, Senator Nixon was General Eisenhower's vice-presidential running-mate; now he is his heir-apparent for the Presidency in 1960. Guy Finney's pamphlet could help mess up the current whitewash job on Nixon's political past.

THE HONORABLE MR. NIXON, by William A. Reuben (Action Books, 550 Fifth Ave., New York 36. 138 pp. plus 72-pp. appendix. $1.75) is a devastating presentation of the job Nixon did on Alger Hiss through the agency of Whittaker Chambers. Reuben is the free-lance reporter who covered the Trenton Six and Rosenberg Cases for the GUARDIAN and wrote **The Atom Spy Hoax.**

Reuben has made an exhaustive study of the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee of 1948 as well as those of the Baltimore hearings when Hiss sought to sue Chambers for libel; of the records of the two Hiss perjury trials in 1949-50; and of Hiss' motion for a new trial in 1952. In addition he has conducted much independent research on the Hiss case.

Reuben marshals the facts to support Hiss' often-voiced suspicion that Nixon or his committee aids were feeding Chambers details to which Hiss had testified, so that Chambers later could testify to them as if from his own recollection. Hiss was questioned for two weeks in July-August 1948 before he was enabled to face his accuser.

When the famous "Pumpkin Papers" were about to be produced, Nixon, knowing of their existence, went on a Caribbean cruise so that he might be dramatically picked up at sea by a Navy crash boat and flown by seaplane back to Washington, to a full accompaniment of press coverage and photography.

AN EASTMAN KODAK expert testified that microfilm on which the "Pumpkin Papers" had allegedly been photographed ten years before appeared to have been manufactured in 1947, only one year previous to the Hiss-Chambers testimony. Later the public was led to believe that this testimony had been retracted with respect to all the microfilm involved, but meanwhile three of the questioned rolls of film had vanished and have never again come to light.

After Hiss went to jail, new evidence pointed conclusively to the fact that the typewriter used to convict him had been faked, and the documents offered to make Hiss appear a perjurer were forgeries.

William Reuben has done a workmanlike service in assembling the data involving Hiss and Nixon, and the charges of Communists and spies in the Roosevelt New Deal government which laid the groundwork for McCarthy's later canards of "twenty years of treason."

—**John T. McManus**

JAMES P. CANNON:

'Notebook of an Agitator'

JAMES P. CANNON was born in Kansas City in 1890, worked 60 hours a week in a packinghouse when he was 12 and became a radical early. He started out as a traveling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World but left that organization to join the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1918.

He didn't get to be a founding member of the Communist Party in 1919 because he opposed a split in the Socialist Party at that time, but in 1920 he was elected to the Central Committee of what was to become the CP. The Communists expelled him in 1928 for siding with Leon Trotsky against Stalin. Since then he has been a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, which to date gives him 49 years of active participation in American radical politics of varying hues.

Notebook of an Agitator* is a collection of more than 100 short random pieces written between 1926 and 1956. Most of the selections are written in a straightforward punchy style with echoes of the scornful vehemence of the old soap-boxers of the west—an extinct breed.

THE BOOK IS DIVIDED chronolcgically into five parts, the first covering the years 1926 to 1928 when Cannon was national secretary of the old International Labor Defense. Topics here include the Sacco-Vanzetti case; Frank Little, an IWW organizer lynched in Butte, Mont., in 1917 while leading a copper miners' strike; the death of Big Bill Haywood; Tom Mooney, and the Centralia, Washington, victims of a 1919 band of patriots.

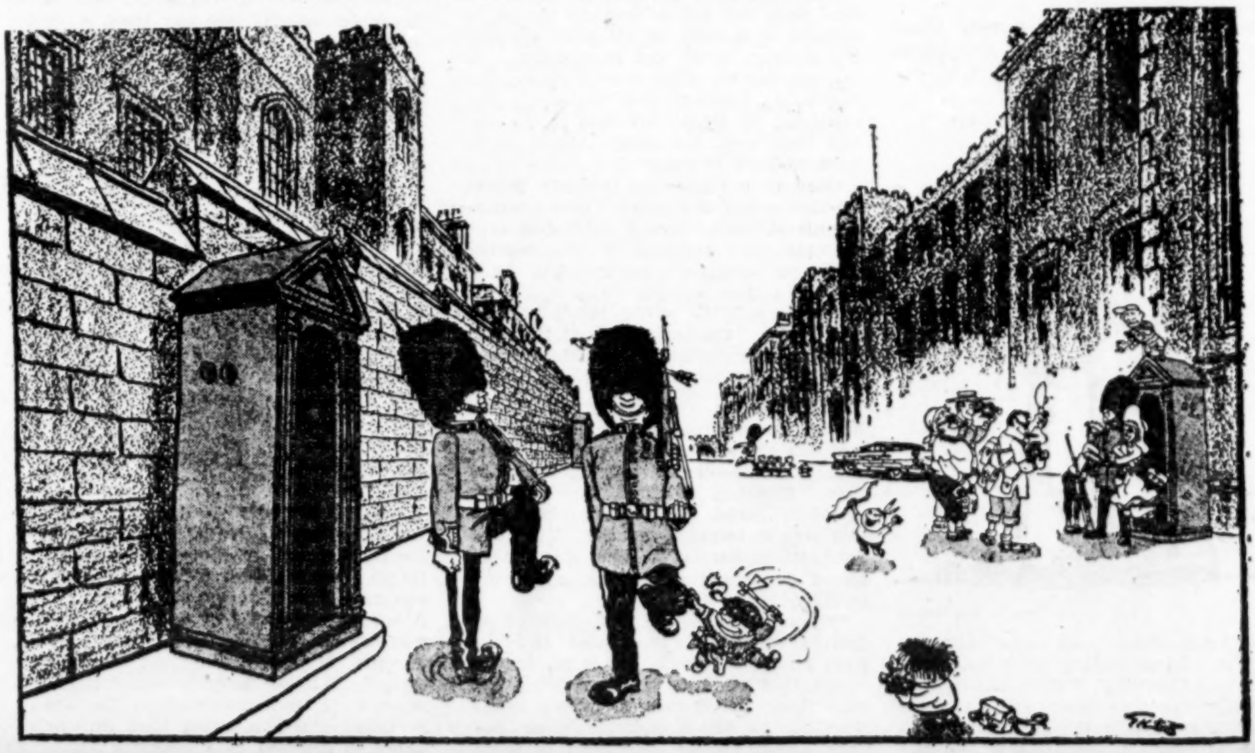
Part two consists of pieces written for the daily strike bulletin during the teamsters' walkout in Minneapolis in 1934 and part three covers the years 1936 and 1937 when Cannon was editor of a San Francisco publication called **Labor Action,** with some vitriolic comment on the role of the ""Stalinites" in the maritime strike during that period. Cannon at that time was also bitterly opposed to the reelection of Roosevelt.

The last two sections of the book, New York City 1940-1952 and Los Angeles 1954-1956, consist mostly of articles written for **The Militant,** weekly publication of the Socialist Workers Party. They range over a variety of topics, from the Korean war to Catholic censorship, prize-fighting, crime, books, movies and the Fourth of July. A section here also deals with some experiences the Trotzkyists had with Whittaker Chambers. Attacks upon Cannon's natural enemies, the "Stalinites," are frequent and caustic.

As reference or source material, **Notebook of an Agitator** suffers greatly from a total absence of explanatory material that would tie the sections together. A reader unfamiliar with the Minneapolis teamster strike or the West Coast maritime strike of 1936-37 will find these sections largely meaningless. As for Cannon's own change from a CP leader to spokesman for the SWP, or that organization's evolution, there is no word whatever. And Cannon nowhere even refers directly to his own role as a defendant in the first Smith Act case in this country in 1941.

—**Lawrence Emery**

**NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR,* by *James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3. 362 pp. Cloth, $4; paper, $2.50.*



Giles, London Sunday Express

"I'm off duty in ten minutes when I shall show Davy Crockett here who's King of the Wild Frontier!"

Southern crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

vides a mandatory death penalty for rape where mercy is not recommended. Since 1925 the state has executed 25 Negroes and one white man for the crime; the victim of the white offender was a white woman.

The nation and much of the world saw the Florida trial as a test case and millions awaited the verdict. The reaction ranged from the "Oh Jesus!" of the wife of one of the rapists when she heard the guilty verdict pronounced, to the unmixed approbation of sections of the nation's press.

Between these poles, Negroes generally accepted the verdict with restrained approval touched with bitterness. There had been no bloodthirsty cries for vengeance from the Negro communities. But Rev. A. Joseph Riddick, a Tallahassee minister, summed up the sour mood. "Florida," he said, "has maintained its fine record of never sending a white man to the electric chair for the rape of a Negro woman."

Even Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who opposes the death penalty as a matter of principle, decried the "glaring injustice" of the jury's finding. He told an audience in Cleveland: "The verdict certainly represents a continuance of a double standard of justice in Florida."

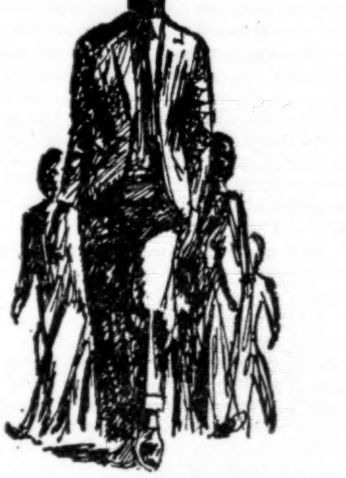
IT'S "UNDERSTANDABLE": This sentiment was widespread among Negroes. **The N.Y. Times**, in an editorial on June 16, described the bitterness as "understandable" but "wrong." The verdict, it said, was a "triumph for law and order" because "the honor and integrity of a Negro girl were recognized as equally sacred before the law with those same qualities in any girl. The defendants were tried fairly and convicted. And all this happened in a Southern city. Beside those facts the recommendation for mercy is essentially a detail."

But for Negroes the verdict left sentencing to the discretion of a judge authorized to impose penalties ranging from a lecture to life imprisonment.

When on June 22 Circuit Judge W. May Walker sentenced all four defendants to life imprisonment, the misgivings expressed by Negroes receded appreciably. Yet no one expected the men to spend the rest of their lives in prison as many Negroes have done. Under the Florida statute the men may apply for parole in six months, but only rarely are applications of lifers convicted of rape considered before they have served ten years.

What seemed clear was that Negroes **were determined that their share of justice should be determined, not by any man's discretion or whim—whatever his reputation for fairness—but only by common, color-blind law.**

THE COURSE OF VIOLENCE: It is this determination that Southern segregationists have refused to accept. It has infuriated the racists and their clear decision is that if Negroes will not talk the language of compromise, then they will resort to violence.



La Gauche, Brussels

On the same day the Florida jury handed down its verdict three highly respected organizations called attention to the course that violence has taken and the threat it represents to the South's and the nation's welfare. In a report covering the years from Jan. 1, 1955, to Jan. 1, 1959, the American Friends Service Committee, the Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations of the Natl. Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council listed 530 cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation aimed at discouraging Negroes, and those who might assist them, from pressing for their rights.

Of the 530 cases reported, 225 involved acts of violence. They included six Negroes killed; 29 persons, 11 of them white, shot and wounded; 44 persons beaten and five stabbed; and one Negro emasculated. In addition to personal assaults, 15 homes were struck by gunfire, 30 bombed and seven stoned. School buildings were blasted in Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tenn., and in Jacksonville, Fla. Seven churches were bombed and one burned. Jewish centers were dynamited in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta; attempts to ruin similar buildings in Birmingham, Ala., and Charlotte and Gastonia, N.C., failed. A YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville were also dynamited, and two schools were burned.

ORGANIZED BIGOTRY: The report listed 98 instances of economic, political or social reprisals. The majority of these involved loss of jobs, denial of credit or supplies to farmers or businessmen and purging of voters from voting lists.

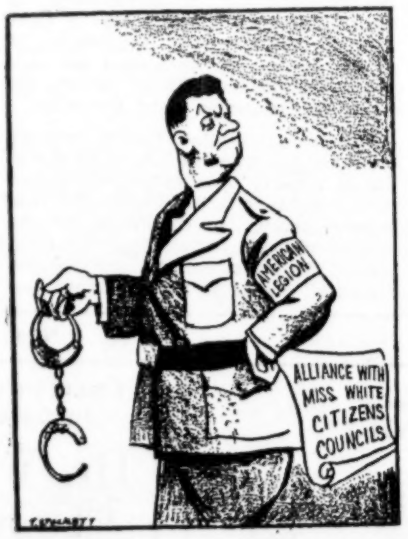
What the report describes as the "widespread erosion of individual liberties" has **been accompanied by the growth of organized bigotry throughout the South. The most notable development has been the White Citizens Councils. Following its formation by a Mississippi plantation owner in 1954, the movement grew rapidly in the deep South to an estimated 300,000-membership in 1956. The report does not give its current strength.**

Though the Council leaders publicly renounced violence and said they would confine their offensive to economic discrimination and racist propaganda, they created the atmosphere in which violence could flourish. They attracted to their ranks and to their platforms leading Southern politicians, including U.S. Senators and Congressmen, members of state legislatures and other officials.

RETURN OF THE KKK: The prestige of such personalities emboldened those for whom intimidation and propaganda were not enough. During the four-year period 210 Ku Klux Klan meetings were held in the South, ranging in attendance from a handful to more than 10,000. Though efforts to revive the Klan have not succeeded in most areas, the report lists nine Klan organizations in the South. The largest has headquarters in Atlanta, with a membership of 12,-15,000. Biggest growth of Klan strength during the period took place in Alabama.

To emphasize the authenticity of their findings, the three organizations limited their researches to cases reported in newspapers and having an obvious origin in racial conflict. This would omit thousands of instances of illegal coercion, assault and even murder of Negroes which never get into print, either because Southern papers consider the incidents inconsequential or because the Negro victims or their families fear the consequences of disclosure.

MISSING CATEGORY: The report also exempts from examination the most powerful of all racist forces in the South—the state governments. Official "legal" anti-Negro oppression is a category that deserves a report of its own; otherwise there would be no heading under which to place Alabama's vengeful sentence of handy-man Jimmy Wilson to life imprisonment for allegedly stealing $1.95, or North Carolina's treatment of Hanover Thompson and "Fuzzy" Simpson in the celebrated "kissing case."


AMERICAN LEGION
ALLIANCE WITH MISS WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

Baltimore Afro- American

Americanism—Mississippi version

Commenting on the report of the three groups, the Washington **Post** of June 16 noted: "The mobsters, the bombers and the fomenters of racial passions have merely carried the principle of massive resistance to its ultimate extremes. When such a perilous wind of doctrine is sown, its authors should not be surprised when they reap the whirlwind."

ANOTHER COURSE: Can the nation be spared the full impact of the whirlwind of racial conflict in the South? Not if it waits on the Negro's abandoning his rights. It would seem too late in the day for the Negro to turn back. In the word of his spiritual, he must press forward "to see what the end will be."

But there is another way to minimize the conflict: take the future of the South out of the hands of those who refuse to recognize the Negro's manhood; prepare the ground for the only kind of long-range accommodation that's really possible—on a footing of equal rights in an unsegregated society.

There are white Southerners attempting to do this in various ways. The Southern Regional Council, one of the sponsors of the report, attracts some of them. An inter-racial organization which has been functioning for almost 15 years, the Council distributes helpful analyses and reprints from its headquarters at 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3 Ga.

HUGE TASK: Going beyond the moderate stand of the Council in its positive commitment to integration is the highly effective Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La. Through **The Southern Patriot**, through conferences of Negro and white leaders, and more recently through the establishment of statewide committees, the SCEF makes an important contribution toward bringing white Southerners to the side of their embattled Negro fellow-Americans.

The possibility of avoiding further race violence in the South will depend, in part at least, upon the success of such groups in changing the traditional Southern contempt for the Negro's humanity and rights. Their task is a huge one and the nation has a big stake in it.

But the real question is: Who's eating the doughnuts?

DO YOU EVER get a bit irritated by the national reports of unemployment tabulation? Why measure our prosperity by counting the jobless? Who are these doughnuthole lookers? Barometer is—how many were working then—how many now? It's all right to give unemployment tabulations, but they should come after the big numbers showing the increase in the number of jobs from year to year.

—From the **Detroiter**, Greater Detroit's business weekly, April 13

L.I. orchestra and chorus to hold concert June 28

THE LONG ISLAND Community Orchestra and Chorus, recent object of a red-baiting attack by **The Tablet**, weekly organ of the Brooklyn Diocese of the Catholic Church (GUARDIAN, June 1), will hold its third concert of the season Sunday, June 28, 3 p.m., at the Westbury Music Fair, Westbury, L.I.

Pianist Alec Templeton will be guest soloist in a Family Concert of American Music "dedicated to the right to create, to perform and to hear music without fear of censorship or reprisal."

All seats are reserved. Contributions are $1.50, $2, $3, $5 and $10. Tickets may be reserved by calling SU 5-5440 or WE 5-6253.

Under **Tablet** pressure the Westbury school board recently refused the 80-member orchestra and 60-member chorus permission to hold the concert in the high school concert hall.

Tickets may be obtained by writing Box 448, Hicksville, L.I.

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Henderson, N. C.

(Continued from Page 1)

ances and an end to dues checkoff.

PLANNED VIOLENCE? In the beginning picketing by the union's 1,100 members remained orderly while state and Federal conciliators met with both sides. But on Feb. 16 this year machines again began to hum in the mills—operated by non-union workers brought in under police protection.

Since then the strike has been marked by violence. There have been more than 40 bombings, dynamitings, shootings and beatings. For most of this the papers have blamed the strikers.

But union representative Julius Frye says most of the incidents are "planted jobs to cover up the violence suffered by union officials." Violence has occurred, the union leaders say, at crucial points in the negotiations when it gave management an excuse to break off talks or demand greater police guard. They add that the non-strikers can be seen daily brandishing pistols and rifles as they ride to work.

BROKEN AGREEMENT: Gov. Luther H. Hodges, a former textile manufacturer, took a hand in the negotiations in April. For him the strike was a deep concern. He was elected on a platform promise to bring new industry to the state. In a year before the strike, eight new plants opened in the vicinity of Henderson. But since the trouble two prospects changed their plans and opened out of state.

At first Hodges had no success, but on April 17 he announced he had brought the parties to agreement. Mill owner Cooper accepted compulsory arbitration of grievances involving disciplinary matters and arbitration by "mutual consent" on other matters. The union, apparently viewing its survival as paramount, agreed that non-strikers should hold preference in re-hiring. At the time there were only about 300 non-strikers operating one shift.

When the strikers reported back for work they got a shock. Of 1,100, only 220 were offered their jobs back. The rest were to be replaced by non-union people Cooper said he hired before the agreement had been reached.

TELLING THEM OFF
A Henderson striker shouts at scabs

LAW AND ORDER: The strikers went back to the picket lines and violence resumed with new vigor. Hodges dismissed himself from the dispute and said: "My sole interest now is to maintain law and order. The state has a responsibility to provide men with the right to work."

The union hoped he would declare martial law and close the mills. Instead, on request from local police, he ordered in 400 members of the National Guard. In the state legislature Rep. A. A. Zollicoffer, nephew of mill owner Cooper, pushed through a bill granting the Guardsmen power of arrest and the right to break up any gathering of three or more people, even on the porches of private homes. The legislature also appropriated $750,000—enough to keep the Guard in Henderson until November.

With this protection, Cooper returned the mills to a three-shift basis by bringing in workers from as far off as 100 miles. Union officials claim this was possible because of connivance of the courts and local officials. They point out that of the scores arrested for violence, almost all are union leaders. When union regional director Boyd Payton was stoned, State Atty. Gen. Malcolm Seawell called the affair "an absolute hoax." Henderson Mayor Carroll V. Singleton warned the strikers that any violence would bring charges of inciting to riot against those on the scene. A local court limited the number and activities of the pickets.

CONSPIRACY CHARGE: A local grand jury this month indicted Payton and seven other union officers and members on charges of "criminal conspiracy" to blow up a power sub-station, two of the struck plants and the mills' main offices. None of the dynamitings ever took place.

The charges were brought by the State Bureau of Investigation which arrested four of the men (the others surrendered voluntarily later when they learned they were wanted), held them in jail with armed guardsmen in front of their cells while they were qquestioned and later announced it had uncovered a "sizable amount" of dynamite.

The men were later released in $15,000 bail each, pending trial at an unspecified date.

Payton said the charges were "absolutely untrue." He added: "One of the greatest aspects of the Henderson strike has been the question of property rights versus human rights. I have pointed out repeatedly that all major forces of the state have been lined up and used on the side of property rights."

RANKS SOLID: Against this opposition the strike has remained incredibly solid: only 69 have gone back to work. Some who quit the picket line to return to the mill came back shame-faced after a few days.

The strike costs the union about $30,000 a week. The union's national executive council has contributed $100,000 and other unions have sent $75,000. Top leaders of the AFL-CIO, who see the strike as a test for their proposed Southern organizing campaign, have passed numerous resolutions of encouragement.

The strikers have held out, according to striker Mrs. Nannie Hughes, 57, because to them the union has meant "a better way of life." She adds: "We are more prosperous and the town is more prosperous and our children now go to high school, some even go to college."

NEW PATTERN: TWUA officials see the Henderson pattern spreading. Since the strike, they say, other Southern mills have proposed contracts similar to the one offered by Cooper. Organizer Frye says: "I know it's more than coincidence."

One union official told **U.S. News & World Report:** "Some employers seem to think the climate is better now for strike-busting." The union has asked for an investigation by the group that has done the most to create that climate, the McClellan Committee. Hearings scheduled for June 18 were postponed for a month.

Two years ago the union vainly asked for an investigation of charges of "corrupt or improper activities used by textile employers in concert with police and public officials" to break unions in the South. It detailed these cases:

- On March 14, 1956, four union organizers were beaten by a mob at Limestone Manufacturing Co. (a division of M. Lowenstein & Sons) at Gaffney, S.C. When they complained to the sheriff they were threatened with arrest.
- Two weeks later five union men distributing leaflets at the Gaffney plant were attacked by company supervisors and a mob from the plant with firehoses, baseball bats and pistols.
- In Alexander City, Ala., the police chief ordered a union organizer to leave town under threats of violence. When he would not go, the chief encouraged two men to beat him up and then arrested the organizer for "breach of the peace."
- In Tallapoosa, Ga., a police officer looked on as two men "mercilessly stomped" a union member distributing leaflets at a plant gate. A local jury threw the case out of court.

SIMPLE ISSUE: To Congress, which is currently concerned with curbing unions, the AFL-CIO Executive Council said: "The issues at Henderson today are so simple and involve such elementary rights that they supply a litmus test by which to determine the sincerity of those who prate about the need for union democracy and the evils of labor monopoly."

Strike leader Payton saw another meaning: "If they can break this strike, they've broken this union. And if they can break this union, they can break any union in America."

The Rosenbergs

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*Starlight Forums, Sunday evenings, on the Terrace, Penthouse 10A, 59 W. 71 St. Details for all events to be announced in this column.
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CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

SEE george bratt's overalls elsewhere in this issue

READ: on the boss's time

QUOTE: john t mcmanus—
"as easy to get and wryly funny as a fred wright labor cartoon"

LOS ANGELES

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Instructors include William L. Patterson, Betty Gannett, Louis Weinstock, Esther Cantor, Sidney Finkelstein and Harold Collins.

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INSTRUCTION

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THE GALLERY

JOHN COSTELLO was hauled into Municipal Court in Washington this month for selling peanuts in the park without a license. He has been arrested on the same charge so often, police stopped counting in 1945 when the total was 200.

"Hello, Judge. I'm fine, thanks, fine," said the white-haired Costello.

"John," the judge began, "I've known you for many years. There's something wrong with this. Something wrong." He ordered the unlicensed peanut vendor to the General Hospital for a mental examination.

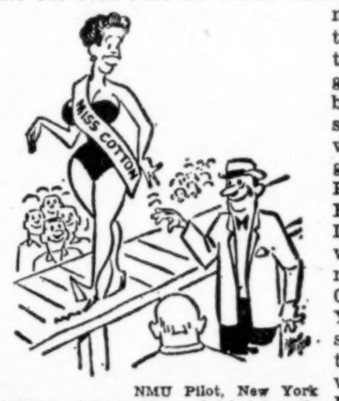
"They'll let me out right away," the 63-year-old Costello said. "I've been there twice before. They put me in a bed. I sleep all night. Then a fellow comes in, the man who takes your blood. Another fellow asks me what's my name. I tell him John Costello. He goes away and then seven fellows come in and say, 'What's 100 times 87?' I say, 'Now look-a here, I learn that stuff when I'm a little boy.' Then they all leave the room.

"Another doctor comes in and says, 'Who's the President?' I say, 'Eisenhower.' Then he says, 'Before that?' And I say 'Truman.' Then he says, 'Before that?' And I say, 'Not for many a year will another come like him, Franklin D. Roosevelt.' I go right back to Wilson. Next day they let me out."

Costello pleaded: "Please, your honor, there's nothing wrong with me. But if you want, I go. But I go tomorrow; I have to move my car."

Asst. Corporation Counsel Clark King explained to Costello, for the hundreth time, that he couldn't get a permit to sell in the park because General Services, Inc., has exclusive rights. Costello nodded politely and went to his car, which was loaded with ice cream and peanuts.

A MAGISTRATE IN CLERKENWELL, LONDON, told a man arrested for the 16th time for traffic violations: "I think you are temperamentally unfitted to drive a car. I think you ought to see a psychiatrist." The man was Lucien Freud, grandson of Sigmund . . . A schoolboy in Lincoln, Neb., in an essay contest on Abraham Lincoln wrote: "He was born in Kentucky, grew up in Illinois, was elected President and was assassinated at Ford's Theater by Claire Booth Luce." . . . When Francis Melville died last month in Johannesburg, South Africa, he left £6,000 to his friend Mrs. Adelaide Young with the proviso that she spend it all on world travel. If the money was not so used, it would go to South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party. "That was an added incentive for me to travel," says Mrs. Young. "You see, he didn't like the Nationalist Party." . . . The results of 19 rain-making experiments made since September, 1955, in London indicate a net decrease of rainfall. "If the decrease we appear to have produced is real, it is a unique result," said Mr. Oddie of the Meteorological Office.



NMU Pilot, New York
"Keep your cotton pickin' hands off!"

AFTER CONGRESS ADJOURNS THIS SUMMER, $7,500 will be spent from a $155,000 "contingency" fund to install special buttons marked "For Senators Only" alongside elevators in the new Senate office building. Once touched, the button will delay all other calls on other floors and send the elevator and its passengers to the Senators, even if it has to reverse direction. Currently two freight elevators are used for this purpose, but the legislators think it is undignified . . . An advertisement in the N.Y. Times offers for only $3.95 an "Africa Korps Desert Cap . . . with soaring uplift front and dashing 'forward look' lines . . . made world-famous by the notorious Afrika Korps, this masculine height-building cap is worn throughout Western Europe for both work and play . . . Now being worn by style leaders all over America." . . . A poll conducted by the Chamber of Commerce in 86 high schools asked students to indicate their preference for various statements descriptive of economic systems. The questionnaire did not identify the systems. About 55% selected: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" —the historic socialist slogan . . . A Washington court threw out a suit for damages against the Capitol Arena by a woman who claimed a wrestler kicked her while she watched the matches. The court held that the conduct was "beyond the scope of the wrestler's employment" and therefore the arena was not responsible. If he had thrown another wrestler at her during a staged "tantrum," the suit would have been valid.

— **Robert E. Light**

CORRECTION: The Gallery (June 22) underestimated the distance of Jesse Owens' Olympic record broad jump. The correct distance should read: 26 feet 5 and 5/16 inches.

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What makes this album a "classic" are two selections: a short reading from "Othello" ("I have given the state some service . . .") in Robeson's full, rich baritone which will send chills up your spine; and a short reading and song from "Boris Godounov" never before recorded by Robeson.

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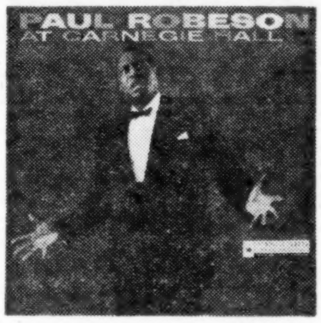

SIDE ONE: Every Time I Feel The Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, Monologue from Othello, O Thou Silent Night, Chinese Children's Song, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home.

SIDE TWO: Monologue from Boris Godounov, The Orphan, Christ lag in Todesbanden, Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel, Lullaby (Schubert), O No John, Joe Hill, Jacob's Ladder. Piano accompaniment by Alan Booth.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The Biedermanns

HAMBURG

THE OTHER NIGHT I attended the first performance of an interesting play here. **Biedermann und die Brandstifter** (The Solid Citizen and the Incendiaries would render it best into English) by the Swiss playwright, Max Frisch. It is an allegory of Herr Biedermann who, terrorized and blackmailed by two incendiaries, instead of protesting, befriends the thugs to save his own house and his own skin. In the end he furnishes the matches needed to light the fuse. In the ensuing catastrophe, both Biedermann and his wife perish.

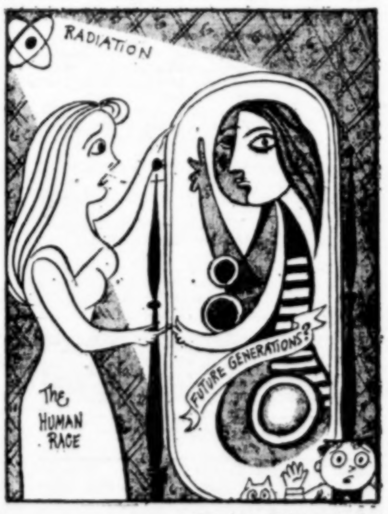
In an epilogue, the couple find themselves in Hell, protesting that they are innocent: they only did what everybody else did. A re-encounter with the two thugs reveals them as the Devil and his Assistant. The Devil—just returned from Heaven—orders the fire brigade to put out the flames of Hell for, as he disgustedly explains, he is no longer prepared to run Hell for a bunch of small fry; he had met all the big-time criminals in Heaven. "Anyone who puts on a uniform to kill is sure to go straight to Heaven," he says bitterly. Hell is a positive paradise compared to Heaven and Earth. Shaking Hell's dust forever, the Devil and his Assistant return to Earth "where someone is sure to furnish us with the matches again."

IT IS A POWERFUL ANTI-WAR PIECE which played to a full house of Biedermanns and their wives; the applause, except for some young people, was half-hearted. It could hardly be otherwise in a Germany once again run by those in uniform, with the Biedermanns condoning political crime and folly because they cannot be bothered. They are too busy amassing wealth.

Even though there have been protests over Konrad Adenauer's cynical juggling of the two highest offices of the Federal Republic, 50 million Biedermanns will—after some mumbled protests—goose-step to the tune of an obstinate old man. Bismarck . . . the Kaiser . . . . . . Hitler . . . Adenauer—will history always repeat itself here? The foreign press says German democracy is undergoing a grave crisis. To one who has spent her childhood here, during the ill-fated Weimar Republic, it would seem German democracy remains still-born.

But the Biedermanns don't protest. There is money to burn here. Why should the Biedermanns protest? They have not protested U.S. guided missile bases being transferred from France to Germany, making Germany a much more likely target in a future war; nor the first post-war German fighter squadron, under the command of Eric Hartman, Word War II ace and a prisoner-of-war in the Soviet Union until 1955.

Pastor Niemoeller continues his lonely fight against the **Atomtod** (atomic death). His meeting here last week was attended by 5,000 out of a population of 1,500,000. The Social Democratic loyal opposition, instead of protesting atomic armament as such, merely asks for more civil defense. But the Devil knows that this time there will be no fire brigade to cope with atomic arson.



Yardley, Baltimore Sun

Girl in the mirror—after Picasso

TO ASSUAGE its conscience, the Biedermann Republic continues to pay reparations to Israel and private restitution to Jews who are former German citizens or citizens of occupied territories who miraculously escaped the gas-chamber. But many among the Biedermanns grumble that such restitution overburdens the German economy. To assuage their conscience, Jewish authors and actors and painters are welcomed, and 100,000 in Hamburg visited the recent Marc Chagall exhibition—though many never knew he was a Jew.

Interest in Israel, one feels, also serves as a cover for sins past and present. Just as every Nazi had his pet Jew, so every Biedermann now seems to have his pet Israeli. According to **Die Welt**, a countrywide survey of German schools showed anti-Semitism is still a vital force, especially among the middle-classes and among high school rather than elementary students.

AND YET THERE ARE high school students who are neither prejudiced nor ignorant. Bertolt Brecht's play **Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthoefe** (St. Joan of the Slaughter Houses) also had its world premiere here last week. (The play was scheduled to have its premiere on Jan. 28, 1933, but was canceled for obvious reasons.) This is not my favorite Brecht but it does shake the conscience of the Biedermanns. As the reviewer in a paper put out by two of the city's leading high schools wrote:

"Whoever understands this [Brecht's philosophy] begins to understand Communist morality, an understanding which is important to us all. It is for this reason that I would like to see Brecht read much more widely in our schools. I am thinking of a man who said that Brecht was the only one in whom we Germans still had a common stake—east and west of the border."

It's hard to say at this writing whether the youthful descendants of the Biedermanns will furnish the matches for the final arson—or whether they'll furnish the understanding needed to build the bridge of a democratic Germany between East and West.

—Ursula Wassermann